THE

WORKS

OF

TACITUS.

WITH

POLITICAL DISCOURSES

UPON THAT

AUTHOR,

BY

THOMAS GORDON, Esq;

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

The THIRD EDITION corrected.

VOL. I.

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MDCCLIII.

TO

The Right Honourable

Sir ROBERT WALPOLE,

First Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, one of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter.

SIR,

AS you were the firſt who promoted the following Work in a public manner, I take liberty to preſent it to the Public under your name, and to do an act of acknowledgment for one of generoſity. Be pleaſed to be the Patron of a Book which under your Patronage was compoſed. It is natural and

common for men who profeſs Letters, to ſeek the countenance and protection of Men of Power; and from ſuch of them as to greatneſs of fortune were happy enough to join greatneſs of mind, they have not ſought in vain.

POWER without Politeneſs and Complacency, is at beſt diſtaſteful, often hated; amiable when it knows how to condeſcend. It is thus that men in high ſtations avoid envy from ſuch as ſtand below them. He who cannot riſe to their height, finds a ſort of retaliation and amends in their coming down to him. No man is pleaſed with a behaviour which repreſents him as contemptible. To make us think well of ourſelves, by another's ſhewing us that we are well thought of by him, is a generous and artful civility: a leſſon which ſtately and rebuking men want to learn. A mean man of great quality and figure (for ſuch incongruities we often meet) teaches others to ſcorn him, by his ſhewing

ing that he ſcorns them. Affability therefore, accompanied with good ſenſe, which will always guard it from exceeding, is the art of keeping great Splendor from growing offenſive to the reſt of the world.

IT muſt be owned, that no Affability, even the moſt flowing; no Genius, even the moſt elevated, can eſcape particular diſtaſtes; and from the diſlike of Perſons to that of Actions the tranſition is eaſy and too common. Men do not eaſily diſcern good qualities and intentions in one, to whom they do not wiſh well. All men, even thoſe of the moſt unexceptionable Characters, are apt to form their judgment over-haſtily, when their paſſions are warmed: and from this cauſe it has often proceeded, that the inevitable misfortunes of times and accidents have been charged upon ſuch, whoſe intereſt and ſtudy it was to prevent them. This is one of the evils

and uneaſineſſes inſeparably attending every Adminiſtration. When a State is under heavy burdens and difficulties, the means to relieve and ſupport it will be, almoſt always, proportionably heavy: and as whatever proves heavy, however neceſſary, is eaſily called Oppreſſion; ſo the hand, which adminiſters a remedy, may, merely becauſe it is felt, be eaſily ſtiled oppreſſive.

BESIDES the reaſon which I have already given for this Addreſs, I have another; one taken from the Character of my Author. As he was a Man of Affairs, a great Miniſter, I chuſe to preſent him to another: to one who having been long engaged in public Life, having had long experience of men, ſeen far into their bent and foibles, and been converſant with the myſteries and primary operations of Government; can thence readily judge whether Tacitus has refined too much in his Politics, or

been

been over-ſevere in his Cenſures upon mankind: or whether this charge has not been chiefly raiſed by men of ſpeculation, who, however furniſhed with Learning, were yet unacquainted with the tranſactions of States, and ignorant of human nature; or perhaps willing to do honour to it, or to themſelves, at the expence of Truth. Men are to be known, not by Theories taken up in cloſets, but by Commerce with men; and beſt of all in thoſe great ſcenes of public Life, where You, Sir, have ſuſtained, for ſo many years, a high and important part, and gained eminent experience as well as the juſt opinion of great ſufficiency.

I could here, agreeably to the uſual ſtyle and purpoſe of Dedications, ſay a great many advantageous things, without riſquing the uſual cenſure incurred by Dedicators. But ſuch things I would much rather ſay of you, than to you.

In this place, I ſhall only profeſs to be, what I intirely am, with perfect truth, and high regard,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged, and moſt

obedient humble Servant,

T. GORDON.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

READER.

I HAVE carefully corrected this Second Edition of my Tranſlation of Tacitus, and made ſeveral Alterations in it; not in the Senſe, about which I am not conſcious that I have committed any miſtakes, as far as I am capable of judging, but in the manner of Expreſſion in particular places, and for the ſake of Sound, or of greater Clearneſs, though I never yet heard that Men of competent diſcernment and candour complained of any obſcurity in the whole Work; and no language whatever will make Tacitus plain to vulgar underſtandings, whether they be learned or unlearned. It is therefore without any regard to ſuch that I have made any Alterations; but merely from my own opinion and taſte upon many careful reviews, and where I thought I could, without departing from the force, conciſeneſs, and manner of the Original, make ſome Phraſes more ſuitable to an Engliſh ear.

I have

I have indeed little complaiſance for thoſe who think (if any who underſtand him can poſſibly think) that the common Engliſh Stile will at all ſuit that uncommon Writer, whoſe Manner is as peculiar and as affecting as his Thoughts. His Sentences are like Proverbs, ſhort, lively, and ſelf-evident. Are Proverbs, upon Subjects of great Dignity, uſually expreſſed in the ordinary ſtrain? Are they not therefore the more pathetic, and the more eaſily remembered, becauſe they are couched in a particular manner, turned ſomething like Poetry, and ſometimes in antiquated words? Why is the language of the Book of Job and of Iſaiah the Prophet, ſo much admired? Why is that of the Proverbs of Solomon; why that of the Wiſdom of the Son of Syrach ſo much applauded, but that the beautiful manner, and turn, and vivacity, as well as the meaning of the Original, are well imitated and preſerved? Would they not, many of them at leaſt, be ſtrangely transfigured, and all their ſpirit loſt, in the ſtile of Dr. Tillotſon, though very fine and flowing; or in that of Dr. Burnet, late Maſter of the Charter-houſe, ſo very noble and pleaſing? I will venture to ſay, that I have not expreſſed one Phraſe in the whole Tranſlation, more remotely from the common way than many of thoſe Proverbs and Sayings are expreſſed; and tho' they be ſo expreſſed, no body ever called them ſtiff, affected, or obſcure?

I could

I could mention ſome of the greateſt Men of this Age, who, convinced by ſuch Reaſons, and having a perfect taſte of Tacitus, that is, underſtanding him as a Stateſman as well as a Writer, were utterly againſt my making any Alterations at all in my manner of tranſlating him. It is indeed ſuch Judges and Readers as theſe, that I am chiefly ſollicitous to pleaſe, utterly unmoved (otherwiſe than to ſincere compaſſion) by folly, and anger, and railing, under the name of Criticiſm. Ignorance and ill-nature, as they are real misfortunes, deſerve pity; ſo does ſelf-conceit, and peeviſhneſs, and railing; and I would much rather bear bitterneſs, and rancour, and ſpiteful uſage, than find myſelf capable of returning them.

I have all reaſon to be well ſatisfied with the reception which the following Work hath found from the Public, as a Book ſo large and dear was taken off ſo ſoon; for the Second Volume was not publiſhed by Subſcription; and a new Edition would have been wanted much ſooner, had there not been another printed in Ireland, and many of that Edition ſold in England; and had not the Diſcourſes been tranſlated and retailed, as they have been twice, in the French Journals abroad and at home, with ſuch a character and commendations as would not become me to repeat.

The

The Reader will forgive me, if I put him in mind, that the manner of Expreſſion, which ſome have objected to in this Tranſlation, for being ſomewhat uncommon, occurs but here and there, where the Maxims and Reflections of Tacitus, eſpecially in his Speeches, ſeemed to me to require it. Sometimes, and often for pages together, there is little or no variation from the uſual method of ranging words; as may be plainly ſeen in the narrative parts of the Work, more particularly in the Hiſtory and two ſubſequent Treatiſes, where the Stile every where differs more or leſs, from that of the Annals. But this is what ſmall Cenſurers do not, perhaps cannot, obſerve, however obvious it be. Some of them have ventured to find fault without ever reading the Tranſlation, or being capable of reading the Original. Such Cenſurers are always the moſt common, moſt forward, moſt bitter and clamorous, ſuch as even the beſt Writers never eſcaped, and ſuch as even the worſt have no cauſe to fear. Spiteful, fooliſh, and lying cenſures ſeldom live above a day, nor can the pains taken to revive and retail them, extend their exiſtence much longer.

Neglect is the beſt anſwer to what nothing but an anſwer can keep alive, I mean miſerable pedantry and cavilling, virulence and falſification; Treatment, which the moſt unex-

unexceptionable Writings generally meet with from narrow and envious minds, whoſe rule and practice it is to be angry in proportion as the moſt candid and diſcerning are pleaſed: An unhappy Spirit! which thus puniſhes and tortures itſelf for its own rancour and defects, and which therefore from my ſoul I pity, as much as from my ſoul I honour an oppoſite ſpirit, guided by reaſon and humanity, and every amiable quality.

Authors, who, as they write to all the world, ſtand expoſed to the mercy and ſeverity of every one in it, muſt have as little ſenſe as ſatisfaction, were they to feel or even to mind what every ignorant, conceited, or malignant Reader ſays of them: For, every Reader will be apt to offer his Sentiments; and as judgment, good-nature and candour, are qualities, I doubt, not found in the majority, at leaſt in ſuch abundant meaſure as folly, bitterneſs and envy, it is great odds but he who writes is miſrepreſented and reviled, eſpecially if his Writings be eſteemed and commended. I never yet knew any Work well received, which was not likewiſe traduced, nor Cavillers wanting to carp at what the ableſt Judges had approved.

That man can never be happy, whoſe temper is at the mercy others, that is, liable to be ruffled by them, as I have found it ſomewhere

where obſerved, I think by Mr. de Wit; and it is purſuing our true intereſt, as well as it is true wiſdom, calmly to bear rancour and obloquy. Balſac, who ſays, 'That the 'Libels written againſt him, were enough 'to make a ſmall Library,' ſcorned to ſuppreſs them when he might; 'but took de-'light to ſee the number increaſe, and a 'heap raiſed from the many ſtones caſt at 'him.' Mr. Addiſon, who quotes this, ſays, 'That he admired an Author for ſuch 'a temper of mind as enables him to bear 'undeſerved reproach without Reſentment, 'more than for all the Wit of any the fineſt 'ſatirical Reply.'

In tranſlating Tacitus, an Author ſo ſingular for Wiſdom and Energy, I ſtudied to convey his Senſe fully and clearly, and as near his manner as the different Idioms of Latin and Engliſh would let me; and I have the pleaſure to find my Tranſlation approved by many of the greateſt Men living, for Knowledge and Dignity. It is impoſſible, in any Work, to pleaſe all, though all who can read will pretend to judge; and as ſuch who make the fooliſheſt and falſeſt judgment, are not therefore the leſs fond of it, the beſt Writings will meet with many fault-finders. The truly judicious and wiſe, a character which alſo implies temper and candor, as well as civility, will readily conſider and own the difficulties of the Work, where any at-

tend it, and their Approbation, when they give it, carries with it a condemnation and prohibition of all trifling, abſurd, and paſſionate cenſurers, at leaſt brands and diſables them.

As to the inverting and tranſpoſing of Words, blamed by ſome in this Tranſlation (chiefly by Dealers in Words) it is ſo natural, and therefore ſo uſual in all pathetic Writing and Speaking, that it is to be found, ſometimes frequently, in all our ableſt Writers, and beſt Orators; in Mr. Hobbes, and Sir Walter Raleigh (two Authors, whoſe Stile, like their Genius, is ſo clear and ſtrong) in Mr. Dryden, (whoſe Proſe is as beautiful as his Poetry) Dr. Tillotſon, Dr. Atterbury, Lord Clarendon, the famous Earl of Strafford, and many others, who in their Writings and Speeches fall often into ſuch Tranſpoſitions---'To your Majeſty it is 'well known.---To the willing no injury 'is done.---A war there muſt be.---From 'the two principal parts of man, reaſon and 'paſſion, there ariſeth, &c.---Juſt had been 'the Indignation of the Honourable Houſe, '&c.---Juſt would be your Lordſhips moſt 'ſevere cenſure, &c.---Hard is my fate, &c.'

From theſe and a thouſand other inſtances of the like ſort, it will be obvious to every intelligent and candid Reader, how uſual ſuch Tranſpoſition is, and that it is grown as familiar

familiar as the contrary way of ſpeaking and writing, eſpecially where the matter is very grave and intended to affect, and where the Sentences are ſhort, and the Senſe cloſe. How often it is to recur, no rule can be fixed; in it therefore the Writer or Speaker muſt be directed by his Judgment, his Ear, and the Subject. Whenever it occurs naturally, as ſometimes it certainly does, it would be Affectation, or want of Taſte, to omit it: That the Sublime ariſes from the Manner as well as from the Matter, is, I think, not to be denied.

☞ When I publiſh my Tranſlation of Salluſt, which I have done in a different manner from that of Tacitus, becauſe their manner is different, I ſhall perhaps offer ſome more Obſervations upon Stile, which I find is far from being generally underſtood, though ſo many pretend to be judges of it.

THE

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK I.

The SUMMARY.

Enumeration of the ſeveral changes in the Government of Rome. The State of Rome under Auguſtus; *his politicks, death and character; with the arts and diſſimulation of* Tiberius. *Revolt of the Legions in Pannonia, and in Germany; the Conduct of* Germanicus *upon that occaſion, and alſo againſt the common enemy, with his ſucceſs and victories. The death and character of* Julia, *daughter of* Auguſtus: *Plays inſtituted in his honour.* Germanicus *makes another expedition againſt the German nations, and ſubdues them; frees* Segeſtes *from the violence of* Arminius, *and is for his exploits ſaluted* Imperator; *continues the war in Germany, recovers and buries the remains of* Varus's *Legions. The difficulties which befel* Cæcina *in his march, with his bravery and ſucceſs in overcoming them. The law of violated Majeſty, greatly extended and ſeverely executed.*

An Inundation from the Tiber. Licentiouſneſs of the Theatres, and the inſolence of Players, checked by a Decree of Senate. Meaſures propoſed for reſtraining the overflowing of the Tiber, but oppoſed by ſeveral Communities of Italy. Tiberius *ſeldom changes the Governors of Provinces, and why. His dark and crafty conduct upon the Election of Magiſtrates at Rome.*

KINGS were the original Magiſtrates of Rome. Lucius Brutus founded Liberty and the Conſulſhip. Dictators were choſen only in preſſing exigencies. Little more than two years prevailed the ſupreme power of the Decemvirate; and the conſular juriſdiction of the military Tribunes, not very many. The domination of Cinna was but ſhort; that of Sylla not long. The authority of Pompey and Craſſus was quickly ſwallowed up in Cæſar; that of Lepidus and Anthony in Auguſtus. The Common-wealth, then long diſtreſſed and exhauſted by civil diſſentions, fell eaſily into his hands, and over her he aſſumed ſovereign dominion, ſoftened with the popular title of *Prince of the Senate.* But the ſeveral revolutions in the ancient free ſtate of Rome, and all her happy or diſaſtrous events, are already recorded by Writers of ſignal renown. Nor, even in the reign of Auguſtus, were there wanting authors of diſtinction and genius to have compoſed his ſtory, till by the prevailing ſpirit of flattery and abaſement, they were checked. As to the ſucceeding Princes, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero; the dread of their tyranny, whilſt they yet reigned, falſified their hiſtory; and after their fall, the freſh deteſtation of their cruelties inflamed their Hiſtorians. Hence my own deſign of recounting briefly certain incidents in the reign of Auguſtus, chiefly towards his latter end, and of entering afterwards more fully into

into that of Tiberius and the other three, unbiaſſed by any reſentment, or any affection, the influences of ſuch perſonal paſſions being far from me.

When after the fall of Brutus and Caſſius there remained none to fight for the Common-wealth, and her arms were no longer in her own hands; when Sextus Pompeius was utterly defeated in Sicily, Lepidus bereft of his command, Mark Anthony ſlain; and of all the chiefs of the late Dictator's party, only Octavius his nephew was left; he put off the invidious name of Triumvir, and ſtiling himſelf Conſul, pretended that the juriſdiction attached to the Tribuneſhip was his higheſt aim, as in it the protection of the populace was his only view. But when once he had ſecured the Soldiery by liberality and donations, gained the People by ſtore of proviſions, and charmed all by the bleſſings and ſweetneſs of publick peace, he began by politick gradations to exalt himſelf, and with his own power to conſolidate the authority of the Senate, juriſdiction of the Magiſtrate, and weight and force of the Laws; uſurpations, in which he was thwarted by no man; all the moſt determined Republicans had fallen in battle, or by the late ſanguinary Proſcriptions; and for the ſurviving Nobility, they were covered with wealth, and diſtinguiſhed with publick honours, according to the meaſure of their debaſement, and promptneſs to bondage. Add, that all who in the loſs of publick freedom had gained private fortunes, preferred a ſervile condition, ſafe and poſſeſſed, to the revival of ancient Liberty with perſonal peril. Neither were the Provinces averſe to the preſent Revolution; ſince, under the Government of the People and Senate, they had lived in conſtant fear and miſtruſt, from the raging competition amongſt our Grandees, as well as from the rapine and exactions of our Magiſtrates. In vain too had been their appeal to the

Laws, which were utterly enfeebled and borne down by violence, by parties; nay, even by ſubornation and money.

Moreover, Auguſtus, to fortify his domination with collateral bulwarks, raiſed his ſiſter's ſon Claudius Marcellus, a perfect youth, to the dignity of Pontiff and that of Edile; preferred Marcus Agrippa to two ſucceſſive Conſulſhips, a man in truth meanly born, but an accompliſhed ſoldier, and the companion of his victories; and (Marcellus, the huſband of Julia, ſoon after dying) choſe him for his ſon-in-law. Even the ſons of his wife, Tiberius Nero and Claudius Druſus, he dignified with high military titles and commands; though his houſe was yet ſupported by deſcendants of his own blood. For into the Julian family and name of the Cæſars he had already adopted Lucius and Caius, the ſons of Agrippa; and though they were but children, neither of them ſeventeen years old, vehement had been his ambition to ſee them declared Princes of the Roman Youth, and even deſigned to the Conſulſhip; while openly he was proteſting againſt admitting theſe early honours. Preſently upon the deceaſe of Agrippa, were theſe his children ſnatched away, either by their own natural, but haſty fate, or by the deadly fraud of their ſtep-mother Livia; Lucius on his journey to command the armies in Spain, Caius in his return from Armenia, ill of a wound. And as Druſus, one of her own ſons, had been long ſince dead, Tiberius remained ſole candidate for the ſucceſſion. Upon this object centered all princely honours; he was by Auguſtus adopted for his ſon, aſſumed Colleague in the Empire, partner in the juriſdiction tribunitial, and preſented under all theſe dignities to the ſeveral armies; inſtances of grandeur which were no longer derived from the ſecret ſchemes of his mother, as in times paſt, while her huſband

had

had unexceptionable heirs of his own, but thenceforth beſtowed at her open ſuit. For as Auguſtus was now very aged, ſhe had obtained over him ſuch abſolute ſway, that for her pleaſure he baniſhed into the Iſle of Planaſia his only ſurviving grandſon Agrippa Poſtumus, deſtitute, in truth, of laudable accompliſhments, in his temper untractable, and ſtupidly conceited of his mighty ſtrength, but branded with no miſdemeanour or tranſgreſſion. The Emperor had withal ſet Germanicus, the ſon of Druſus, over eight legions quartered upon the Rhine, and obliged Tiberius to adopt him, though Tiberius had then a ſon of his own, one of competent years. But it was the ſtudy of Auguſtus, to ſecure himſelf and the ſucceſſion by variety of ſtays and engraftments. War at that time there was none, except that in Germany, kept on foot rather to aboliſh the diſgrace ſuſtained by Quintilius Varus, there ſlain with his army, than from any ambition to enlarge the Empire, or for any other valuable advantage. In profound tranquillity were affairs at Rome. To the Magiſtrates remained their wonted names; of the Romans the younger ſort had been born ſince the battle of Actium, and even moſt of the old during the civil wars: How few were then living who had ſeen the ancient free ſtate!

The frame and œconomy of Rome being thus totally overturned, amongſt the Romans were no longer found any traces of their primitive ſpirit, or attachment to the virtuous inſtitutions of antiquity. But as the equality of the whole was extinguiſhed by the ſovereignty of one, all men regarded the orders of the Prince as the only rule of conduct and obedience; nor felt they any anxiety, while Auguſtus yet retained vigour of life, and upheld the credit of his adminiſtration with publick peace, and the imperial fortune of his houſe. But when he became broken with age and infirmities; when his

end was at hand, and thence a new ſource of hopes and views was preſented, ſome few there were who began to reaſon idly about the bleſſings and recovery of Liberty; many dreaded a civil war, others longed for one; while far the greateſt part were uttering their ſeveral apprehenſions of their future maſters; "that naturally ſtern and ſavage was the temper "of Agrippa, and by his publick contumely en- "raged into fury; and neither in age nor experi- "ence was he equal to the weight of Empire. Ti- "berius indeed had arrived at fulneſs of years, and "was a diſtinguiſhed captain, but poſſeſſed the in- "veterate pride entailed upon the Claudian race; "and many indications of a cruel nature eſcaped "him, in ſpite of all his arts to diſguiſe it; beſides "that from his early infancy he was trained up in "a reigning houſe, and even in his youth inured to "an accumulation of power and honours, conſul- "ſhips and triumphs. Nor during the ſeveral years "of his abode at Rhodes, where, under the plau- "ſible name of retirement, a real baniſhment was "covered, did he exerciſe other occupation than "that of meditating future vengeance, ſtudying "the arts of treachery, and practiſing ſecret and "abominable ſenſualities. Add to theſe conſidera- "tions, that of his mother, a woman inſpired with "all the tyranny of her ſex; that the Romans muſt "be under bondage to a woman, and moreover "enthralled by two youths, who would firſt com- "bine to oppreſs the State, then falling into diſ- "ſenſion, rend it piece-meal."

While the Publick was engaged in theſe and the like debates, the illneſs of Auguſtus daily increaſed, and ſome ſtrongly ſuſpected the peſtilent practices of his wife. For there had been, ſome months be- fore, a rumour abroad, That Auguſtus, having ſingled out a few of his moſt faithful ſervants, and taken Fabius Maximus for his only companion, had

ſailed

ſailed ſecretly over to the Iſland of Planaſia, there to viſit his Grandſon Agrippa; that many tears were ſhed on both ſides, many tokens of mutual tenderneſs ſhewn, and hopes from thence conceived, that the unhappy youth would be reſtored to his own place in his Grandfather's family: That Maximus had diſcloſed it to Martia, ſhe to Livia; and thence the Emperor knew that the ſecret was betrayed: That Maximus being ſoon after dead (dead, as it was doubted, through fear, by his own hands) Martia was obſerved, in her lamentations and groans at his funeral, to accuſe herſelf as the ſad cauſe of her huſband's deſtruction. Whatever truth was in all this, Tiberius was ſcarce entered Illyricum but he was haſtily recalled by his mother's letters. Nor is it fully known whether, at his return to Nola, he found Auguſtus yet breathing, or already breathleſs. For Livia had carefully beſet the palace, and all the avenues to it, with detachments of the guards; and good news of his recovery were from time to time given out. When ſhe had taken all meaſures neceſſary in ſo great a conjuncture, in one and the ſame moment was publiſhed the departure of Auguſtus, and the acceſſion of Tiberius.

The firſt feat of this new reign was the murder of young Agrippa. The aſſaſſin, a bold and determined Centurion, found him deſtitute of arms, and little apprehending ſuch a deſtiny, yet was ſcarce able to diſpatch him. Of this tranſaction Tiberius avoided any mention in the Senate. He would have it paſs for done by the commands of Auguſtus; as if he had tranſmitted written orders to the Tribune who guarded Agrippa, "to ſlay "him the inſtant he heard of his Grandfather's de-"ceaſe." It is very true, that Auguſtus had made many and vehement complaints of the young man's obſtinate and unruly demeanour, and even ſolicited

from the Senate a Decree to authorize his baniſhment; but he had never hardened himſelf againſt the ſentiments of nature, nor in any inſtance dipt his hands in his own blood; neither is it credible that he would ſacrifice the life of his grandſon for the ſecurity and eſtabliſhment of his ſe-ſon. More probable it is, that this haſty murder was purely the work of Tiberius and Livia; that the young prince, hated and dreaded by both, fell thus untimely, to rid the one of his apprehenſions and a rival, and to ſatiate in the other the rancorous ſpirit of a ſtep-mother. When the Centurion, according to the cuſtom of the army, acquainted Tiberius, "that his commands were ex-"ecuted;" he anſwered, "he had commanded no "ſuch execution, and the Centurion muſt appear "before the Senate, and for it be anſwerable to "them." This alarmed Salluſtius Criſpus, who ſhared in all his ſecret counſels, and had ſent the Centurion the warrant; he dreaded that he ſhould be arraigned for the aſſaſſination, and knew it equally perilous either to confeſs the truth, and charge the Emperor; or falſly to clear the Emperor, and accuſe himſelf. Hence he had recourſe to Livia, and warned her, "never to divulge the ſe-"crets of the palace, never to expoſe to publick "examination the miniſters who adviſed, nor the "ſoldiers who executed. Tiberius ſhould beware "of relaxing the Authority of the Prince, by re-"ferring all things to that of the Senate; ſince it "was the indiſpenſible Prerogative of Sovereignty, "for all men to be accountable to one."

Now at Rome, Conſuls, Senators, and Roman Knights, were all ruſhing with emulation into bondage; the higher the quality of each, the more falſe and forward the men; all careful ſo to frame their faces, as to reconcile falſe joy for the acceſſion of Tiberius, with feigned ſadneſs for the loſs of Auguſtus.

guſtus. Hence they intermingled tears with gladneſs, wailings with gratulations, and all with ſervile flattery. Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, at that time Conſuls, took firſt the oath of fidelity to Tiberius, then adminiſtred it to Seius Strabo and Caius Turranius, the former Captain of the Pretorian Guards, the other Intendant of the public ſtores. The oath was next given to the Senate, to the People, and to the Soldiery, all by the ſame Conſuls. For Tiberius affected to derive all publick tranſactions from the legal miniſtry of the Conſuls; as if the ancient Republick ſtill ſubſiſted, and he were yet unreſolved about embracing the ſovereign rule. He even owned in his Edict for ſummoning the Senate, that he iſſued it by virtue of the Tribunitial power, granted him under Auguſtus. The Edict too was ſhort, and unexceptionably modeſt. It imported, that, "they were to "conſider of the funeral honours proper to be paid "his deceaſed Father; for himſelf he would not "depart from the corps; and further than this "edict implied, he claimed no ſhare in the public "adminiſtration." Yet from the moment Auguſtus was dead, he uſurped all the prerogatives of imperial State, gave the word to the Pretorian Cohorts, had ſoldiers about the palace, guards about his perſon, went guarded in the Street, guarded to the Senate, and bore all the marks of Majeſty. Nay, he writ Letters to the ſeveral Armies in the undiſguiſed ſtyle of one already their Prince; nor did he ever heſitate or ſpeak with ambiguity about it, but when he ſpoke to the Senate. The chief cauſe of his reſerve and obſcurity there proceeded from his fear of Germanicus. He dreaded that he, who was maſter of ſo many Legions of numberleſs Auxiliaries, and of all the Allies of Rome; he, who was the darling of the people, might wiſh rather to poſſeſs the Empire, than to wait for it. He likewiſe

wiſe aimed at falſe glory, and would rather ſeem by the Commonwealth choſen and called to the Empire, than to have crept darkly into it by the intrigues of a woman, or by adoption from a ſuper-annuated Prince. It was alſo afterwards found, that, by this abſtruſeneſs and counterfeit irreſolution, he meant to penetrate into the deſigns and inclinations of the great men; for his jealous ſpirit conſtrued all their words, all their looks, into crimes, and ſtored them up in his heart againſt a day of vengeance.

When he firſt met the Senate, he would bear no other buſineſs to be tranſacted but that about the Funerals of Auguſtus. His laſt will was brought in by the Veſtal Virgins; in it Tiberius and Livia were appointed his heirs, Livia adopted into the Julian Family, and dignified with the name of Auguſta. Into the next and ſecond degree of heirſhip he adopted his grandchildren and their children; and in the third degree he named the great men of Rome, moſt of them hated by him; but out of vain-glory he named them, and for future renown. His legacies were not beyond the uſual bounds; only he left to the Roman people four hundred thouſand great Seſterces [a]; to the Populace or common ſort, thirty-five thouſand [b]; to every common Soldier of the Pretorian Guards a thouſand ſmall Seſterces [c], and to every Soldier of the Roman Legions three hundred [d]. The funeral Honours were next conſidered. The chief preſented were theſe; Aſinius Gallus propoſed, that "the Funeral ſhould "paſs through the Triumphal gate;" Lucius Arruntius, "that the Titles of all the Laws which

[a] About a Million of Crowns. [b] About eighty-ſeven thouſand five hundred Crowns. [c] About twenty-five Crowns. [d] About ſeven Crowns and a half.

he

" he had made, and the names of all the Nations " which he had conquered, ſhould be carried be- " fore the corps ;" Valerius Meſſala added, " that " the Oath of Allegiance to Tiberius ſhould be " renewed every Year ;" and being aſked by Tiberius, " whether at his inſtigation he had made " that motion ? I ſpoke it as my opinion, ſays Meſ- " ſala ; nor will I ever be determined by any but " my own, in things which concern the Common- " weal ; let who will be provoked by my freedom." Only this new turn was wanting to compleat the prevailing flattery of the time. The Senators then concurred in a loud cry, " that upon their own " ſhoulders they muſt bear the body to the pile." But Tiberius declined the offer from an arrogant ſhew of moderation. Moreover he cautioned the people by an Edict, " not to diſturb the funeral " functions with a zeal over-paſſionate, as they " had thoſe of Julius Cæſar ; nor to inſiſt that the " Corps of Auguſtus ſhould be burnt rather in the " Forum, than in the field of Mars, which was " the place appointed." On the funeral day the Soldiers under arms kept guard ; a mighty mockery to thoſe who had either ſeen, or heard their fathers deſcribe, the day when Cæſar the Dictator was ſlain. Servitude was then new, its ſorrows yet freſh and bitter ; and liberty unſucceſsfully retrieved by a deed, which, while it ſeemed impious to ſome, was thought altogether glorious by others, and hence tore Rome into tumults, and the violence of parties. They ridiculed the Grimace of " calling " an aid of ſoldiers to ſecure a peaceable burial to " a prince, who had grown old in peace and power, " and even provided againſt a relapſe into liberty, " by a long train of ſucceſſors."

Hence much and various matter of obſervation concerning Auguſtus. The ſuperſtitious multitude admired the fortuitous events of his fortune ; " that

" the laſt day of his life, and the firſt of his reign,
" was the ſame; that he died at Nola, in the ſame
" village, in the ſame houſe, and in the ſame
" chamber, where his father Octavius died. They
" obſerved to his glory, his many Conſulſhips,
" equal in number to thoſe of Valerius Corvinus
" and of Caius Marius, joined together: that he
" had exerciſed the power of the Tribuneſhip
" ſeven and thirty years without interruption: that
" he was one and twenty times proclaimed *Impe-*
" *rator*; with many other numerous honours re-
" peated to him, or created for him." Men of deeper diſcernment entered further into his Life, but differed about it. His admirers ſaid, that
" his filial piety to his father Cæſar, and the diſ-
" tractions of the Republick, where the laws no
" longer governed, had driven him into a civil
" war; which, whatever be the firſt cauſe, can
" never be begun or carried on by juſt and gentle
" means. Indeed, to be revenged on the murderers
" of his father, he had made many great ſacrifices
" toAnthony; many to Lepidus. But when Lepidus
" was become ſunk and ſuperannuated in ſloth;
" when Anthony was loſt headlong in ſenſuality,
" there was then no other remedy for the diſtracted
" State, rent piece-meal by its chiefs, but the So-
" vereignty of one. Auguſtus, however, never
" had aſſumed to rule over his Country as King,
" or Dictator; but ſettled the Government under
" the legal name of *Prince of the Senate.* He had
" extended the Empire, and ſet for its bounds the
" diſtant Ocean, and rivers far remote; the ſe-
" veral parts and forces of the State, the Legions,
" the Provinces, the Navy, were all properly ba-
" lanced and connected; the Citizens lived duti-
" fully under the protection of the law, the Allies
" in terms of reſpect, and Rome itſelf was adorned
" with Magnificent ſtructures. Indeed in a few

" in-

" inſtances, he had exerted the arbitrary violence " of power; and in but a few, only to ſecure the " peace of the whole."

In anſwer to all this it was urged, that " his " filial piety, and the unhappy ſituation of the Re- " public, were pure pretences; but the ardent luſt " of reigning, his true and only motive; with this " ſpirit he had ſolicited into his ſervice, by bribery, " a body of veteran ſoldiers; and, though a pri- " vate youth, levied an Army. With this ſpirit " he had debauched, and bought the Roman Le- " gions under the Conſuls, while he was falſly " feigning a coalition with Pompey's republican " party; that ſoon after, when he had procured " from the Senate, or rather uſurped the honours " and authority of the Pretorſhip; and when Hir- " tius and Panſa, the two Conſuls, were ſlain, he " ſeized both their Armies; that it was doubted " whether the Conſuls fell by the enemy, or " whether Panſa was not killed by pouring poiſon " into his wounds, and Hirtius ſlain by his own " ſoldiers; and whether the young Cæſar was not " the contriver of this bloody treaſon; that by ter- " ror he had extorted the Conſulſhip in ſpite of the " Senate; and turned againſt the Commonwealth " the very arms with which the Commonwealth " had truſted him for her defence againſt Anthony. " Add to all this his cruel Proſcriptions, and the " Maſſacre of ſo many citizens; his ſeizing from " the public, and diſtributing to his own creatures, " ſo many lands and poſſeſſions; a violation of " property not juſtified even by thoſe who gained " by it. But, allowing him to dedicate to the " Manes of the Dictator the Lives of Brutus and " Caſſius (though more to his honour, had " it been to have poſtponed his own perſonal hate " to publick good,) did he not betray the young " Pompey by an inſidious peace, betray Lepidus

" by

" by a deceitful ſhew of friendſhip? Did he not
" next enſnare Mark Anthony, firſt by Treaties,
" thoſe of Tarentum and Brunduſium; then by a
" Marriage, that of his ſiſter Octavia? And did
" not Anthony, at laſt, pay with his life the penalty
" of that ſubdolous alliance? After this, no doubt
" there was Peace, but a bloody Peace; bloody
" in the tragical defeat of Lollius, and that of
" Varus, in Germany; and at Rome, the Var-
" rones, the Egnatii, the Julii, (illuſtrious names!)
" were put to death." Nor was his domeſtic life ſpared upon this occaſion. " He had arbitrarily
" robbed Nero of his wife big with child by her
" huſband; and mocked the Gods by conſulting
" the Prieſts, whether Religion permitted him to
" marry her before her delivery, or obliged him
" to ſtay till after. His minions, Tedius, and
" Vedius Pollio, had lived in ſcandalous and ex-
" ceſſive luxury; his Wife Livia, who wholly
" controuled him, had proved a cruel governeſs
" to the Commonwealth, and to the Julian houſe
" a more cruel ſtep-mother. He had even in-
" vaded the incommunicable honours of the Gods,
" and, ſetting up for himſelf Temples like theirs,
" would, like them, be adored in the image of a
" Deity, with all the ſacred ſolemnity of Prieſts
" and Sacrifices. Nor had he adopted Tiberius for
" his ſucceſſor, either out of affection for him, or
" from concern for the publick welfare; but having
" diſcovered in him a ſpirit proud and cruel, he
" ſought future glory from the blackeſt oppoſition
" and compariſon." For, Auguſtus, when, a few years before, he ſolicited the Senate to grant to Tiberius another term of the authority of the Tribuneſhip, though he mentioned him with honour, yet taking notice of his odd humour, behaviour, and manners, dropt ſome expreſſions, which,

while

while they ſeemed to excuſe him, expoſed and upbraided him.

As ſoon as the funeral of Auguſtus was over, a Temple and divine worſhip were forthwith decreed him. The Senate then turned the irſupplications to Tiberius, to fill his vacant place; but received an abſtruſe anſwer, touching the greatneſs of the Empire, and his own diſtruſt of himſelf. He ſaid, that "nothing but the divine genius of Auguſtus "was equal to the mighty taſk; for himſelf, who "had been called by him into a participation of his "cares, he had learnt by feeling them, what a "daring, what a difficult toil was that of Govern-"ment, and how perpetually ſubject to the ca-"prices of fortune; that in a State ſupported by "ſo many illuſtrious Patriots, they ought not to "caſt the whole adminiſtration upon one; and "more eaſy to be adminiſtred were the ſeveral "offices of the Government by the united pains and "ſufficiency of many." A Speech much more ſpecious and ſounding than cordial and ſincere. Tiberius, even upon ſubjects which needed no diſguiſes, uſed words dark and cautious; perhaps from his diffident nature, perhaps from a habit of diſſembling. At this juncture indeed, as he laboured wholly to hide his heart, his language was the more carefully wrapt up in equivoques and obſcurity. But the Senators, who dreaded nothing ſo much as to ſeem to underſtand him, burſt into tears, plaints and vows. With extended arms they ſupplicated the Gods, invoked the image of Auguſtus, and embraced the knees of Tiberius. He then commanded the imperial Regiſter to be produced and recited. It contained a ſummary of the ſtrength and income of the Empire, the number of Romans and auxiliaries in pay, the condition of the navy, of the ſeveral Kingdoms paying tribute, and of the various provinces and their revenues,

venues, with the ſtate of the public expence, the iſſues of the exchequer, and all the demands upon the public. This Regiſter was all written by the hand of Auguſtus; and in it he had ſubjoined his counſel to poſterity, that the preſent boundaries of the Empire ſhould ſtand fixed without further enlargement. Whether this counſel was dictated by fear for the public, or by envy towards his ſucceſſors, is uncertain.

Now when the Senate was ſtooping to the vileſt importunity and proſtrations, Tiberius happened to ſay, that, "as he was unequal to the weight "of the whole government, ſo if they entruſted "him with any particular part, whatever it were, "he would undertake it." Here Aſinius Gallus interpoſed. "I beg to know, Cæſar, ſays he, "what part of the government you deſire for your "ſhare?" He was aſtonied with the unexpected queſtion, and, for a ſhort ſpace, mute; but recovering himſelf, anſwered, that "it ill became "his modeſty to chuſe or reject any particular "branch of the adminiſtration, when he deſired "rather to be excuſed from the whole." Gallus, who from his looks inferred deep diſpleaſure, again accoſted him, and ſaid, "By this queſtion "I did not mean that you ſhould ſhare that "power, which cannot be ſeparated; but to rea-"ſon you into a confeſſion, that the Common-"wealth, is but one body, and can be governed "only by one ſoul." He added an encomium upon Auguſtus, and reminded Tiberius himſelf of his many victories, of the many civil employments which he had long and nobly ſuſtained. Nor even thus could he mollify the wrath of Tiberius, who had long hated him, for that Gallus had married Vipſania, daughter of Marcus Agrippa, formerly wife to Tiberius, who thence ſuſpected that he meant to ſoar above the rank of a ſubject, and

poſſeſſed too the bold and haughty ſpirit of Aſinius Pollio his father.

Lucius Arruntius incurred his diſpleaſure next, by a ſpeech not much unlike that of Gallus. It is true, that towards him Tiberius bore no old rancour; but Arruntius had mighty opulence, prompt parts, noble accompliſhments, with equal popularity and renown; and hence was marked by him with a fell eye of ſuſpicion. For, as Auguſtus, ſhortly before his diſeaſe, was mentioning thoſe among the great men, who were capable of the ſupreme power, but would not accept it; or unequal to it, yet wiſhed for it; or ſuch as had both ambition and ſufficiency; he had ſaid, that "Marcus Lepidus was qualified, but would reject it; "Aſinius would be aſpiring, but had inferior talents, and that Lucius Arruntius wanted no ſufficiency, and, upon a proper occaſion, would "attempt it." That he ſpoke thus of Lepidus and Aſinius, is agreed; but, inſtead of Arruntius, ſome writers have tranſmitted the name of Cneius Piſo: and every one of theſe great men, except Lepidus, were afterwards cut off, under the imputation of various crimes, all darkly framed by Tiberius. Quintus Haterius, and Mamercus Scaurus did alſo incenſe his diſtruſtful ſpirit, the firſt by aſking him, "How long, Cæſar, wilt thou ſuffer "the Commonwealth to remain deſtitute of a "head?" Scaurus, becauſe he had ſaid, "There "was room to hope that the prayers of the Senate "would not prove abortive, ſince he had not in-"terpoſed the Tribunitial power, and thence ob-"ſtructed the motion of the Conſuls in his behalf." With Haterius he fell into inſtant rage. Towards Scaurus his reſentment was more deep and implacable, and in profound ſilence he hid it. Wearied at laſt with public importunity and clamour, and with particular expoſtulations, he began to unbend a little;

a little; not that he would own his undertaking the Empire, but only avoid the uneaſineſs of perpetual ſolicitations and refuſals. It is certain, that Haterius, when he went next day to the Palace to implore pardon, and throwing himſelf at the feet of Tiberius embraced his knees, narrowly eſcaped being ſlain by the ſoldiers, becauſe Tiberius, who was walking, tumbled down, whether by chance, or whether his legs were entangled in the arms of Haterius. Neither was he a jot mollified by the danger which threatened ſo great a man, who was at length forced to ſupplicate Auguſta for protection; nor could even ſhe obtain it, but after the moſt laboured entreaties.

Towards Livia likewiſe exorbitant was the flattering court of the Senate. Some were for decreeing her the general title of Mother; others the more particular one of *Mother of her Country*; and almoſt all propoſed, that to the name of Tiberius ſhould be added, *The ſon of Julia*. Tiberius urged in anſwer, that "public honours to women "ought to be adjudged with aſparing hand; and "that with the ſame meaſure of moderation he "would receive ſuch as were preſented to him-"ſelf." In truth, from envy and ſolicitude, leſt his own grandeur ſhould ſink as that of his mother roſe, he would not ſuffer ſo much as a Lictor to be decreed her, and even forbad the raiſing her an Altar upon her late adoption, or paying her any ſuch ſolemnities. Yet, for Germanicus he aſked the Proconſular power; and, to carry him that dignity, honourable deputies were ſent, as alſo to mollify his ſorrow for the death of Auguſtus. If for Druſus he demanded not the ſame honour, it was becauſe Druſus was preſent, and already Conſul deſigned. He then named twelve candidates for the Prætorſhip, the ſame number ſettled by Auguſtus; and, though the Senate requeſted him

to

to increaſe it, he bound himſelf by an oath never to exceed.

The privilege of creating Magiſtrates was now firſt tranſlated from the aſſemblies of the people to the Senate. For though the Emperor had before conducted all affairs of moment at his pleaſure; yet till that day, ſome were ſtill tranſacted by the Tribes, and carried by their bent and ſuffrages. Neither did the regret of the people for the ſeizure of theſe their ancient rights, riſe higher than ſome impotent grumbling. The Senate too liked the change, as by it they were releaſed from the charge of buying votes, and from the ſhame of begging them. And ſo moderate was Tiberius, that, of the twelve candidates, he only reſerved to himſelf the recommendation of four, to be accepted without oppoſition or caballing. At the ſame time, the tribunes of the people aſked leave to celebrate, at their own expence, certain plays in honour of Auguſtus, ſuch as were to be called after his name, and inſerted in the calendar. But it was decreed, that out of the exchequer the charge ſhould be defrayed, and the tribunes ſhould in the Circus wear the triumphal robe; but to be carried in chariots was denied them. The annual celebration of theſe plays was, for the future, transferred to one of the prætors, him in particular to whom ſhould fall the juriſdiction of deciding ſuits between citizens and ſtrangers.

Thus ſtood affairs at Rome when a ſedition ſeized the Legions in Pannonia; without any freſh grounds, ſave that from a change of princes they meant to aſſume a warrant for licentiouſneſs and tumult, and from a civil war hoped great earnings and acquiſitions. They were three Legions encamped together, all commanded by Junius Bleſus, who upon notice of the death of Auguſtus, and the acceſſion of Tiberius, had granted the ſoldiers a re-

ceſs

ceſs from their wonted duties for ſome days, as a time either of public mourning or feſtivity. From being idle they waxed wanton, quarrelſome, and turbulent; greedily liſtened to mutinous diſcourſes; the moſt profligate amongſt them had moſt credit with them, and at laſt they became paſſionate for a life of ſloth and riot, utterly averſe to all military diſcipline and every fatigue of the camp. In the camp was one Percennius; formerly a buſy leader in the embroilments of the theatre, and now a common ſoldier; a fellow of a petulant declaiming tongue, and, by inflaming parties in the playhouſe, well qualified to excite and infatuate a crowd. This incendiary practiſed upon the ignorant and unwary, ſuch as were ſolicitous what might prove their future uſage, now Auguſtus was dead. He engaged them in nightly confabulations, and, by little and little, incited them to violence and diſorders; and, towards the evening, when the ſobereſt and beſt affected were withdrawn, he aſſembled the worſt and moſt turbulent. When he had thus ripened them for ſedition, and other ready incendiaries were combined with him, he perſonated the character of a lawful Commander, and thus queſtioned and harangued them:

" Why did they obey, like ſlaves, a few Cen-
" turions, and a fewer Tribunes? When would
" they be bold enough to demand redreſs of their
" heavy grievances, unleſs they ſnatched the pre-
" ſent occaſion, while the Emperor was yet new,
" and his authority wavering, to prevail with him
" by petition, or by arms to force him? They
" had already, by the miſery of many years, paid
" dear for their patient ſloth, and ſtupid ſilence,
" ſince, decrepid with age, and maimed with
" wounds, after a courſe of ſervice for thirty or
" forty years, they were ſtill doomed to carry arms.
" Nor, even to thoſe who were diſcharged, was

" there

" there any end of the miſery of warfare; they
" were ſtill kept tied to the colours, and, under
" the creditable title of Veterans, endured the ſame
" hardſhips, and underwent the ſame labours. But
" ſuppoſe any of them eſcaped ſo many dangers,
" and ſurvived ſo many calamities, where was
" their reward at laſt? A long and weary march
" remained yet to be taken into countries far re-
" mote and ſtrange, where, under the name of
" lands given them to cultivate, they had inhoſ-
" pitable boggs to drain, and the wild waſtes of
" mountains to manure. Severe and ungainful of
" itſelf was the occupation of war; ten As's a
" day the poor price of their perſons and lives;
" out of this they muſt buy cloaths, and tents, and
" arms; out of this bribe the cruel Centurions, for
" a forbearance of blows, and occaſional exemp-
" tion from hard duty. But ſtripes from their offi-
" cers, and wounds from their enemies, hard win-
" ters and laborious ſummers, bloody wars and
" barren peace, were miſeries without end; nor
" remained there other cure or relief than to refuſe
" to liſt but upon conditions certain, and fixed by
" themſelves; particularly, that their pay be a
" denarius or ſixteen As's a day, ſixteen years be
" the utmoſt term of ſerving; when diſcharged, to
" be no longer obliged to follow the colours, but
" to have their reward, in ready money, paid them
" in the camp where they earned it. Did the
" Prætorian guards, they who had double pay,
" they who, after ſixteen years ſervice, were paid
" off and ſent home, bear ſeverer difficulties, un-
" dergo ſuperior dangers? He did not mean to de-
" tract from the merit of their brethren the city
" guards; their own harder lot however was, to
" be placed amongſt horrid and barbarous nations,
" nor could they look from their tents, but they
" ſaw the foe."

The

The whole crowd received this harangue with ſhouts of applauſe; but from various inſtigations. Some diſplayed upon their bodies the impreſſions of ſtripes, others their hoary heads, many their veſtments ragged and curtailed, with backs utterly bare; as did all, their various griefs in the bitterneſs of reproach. At length to ſuch exceſſive fury they grew, that they propoſed to incorporate the three Legions into one; nor by ought but emulation was the project defeated: for, to his own Legion, every man claimed the prerogative of ſwallowing and denominating the other two. They took another method, and placed the three eagles of the Legions, with the ſtandards of the ſeveral Cohorts, all together, without rank or priority; then forthwith digged turf, and were rearing a tribunal, one high enough to be ſeen at a diſtance. In this hurry arrived Bleſus, who, falling into ſore rebukes, and by force interrupting particulars, called with vehemence to all; "Dip your hands rather in my "blood. To murder your General, will be a "crime leſs ſhameful and heinous, than to revolt "from your Prince: for, determined I am, either "to preſerve the Legions in their faith and obe-"dience, if you kill me not for my intended good "office; or my death, if I fall by your hands, "ſhall haſten your remorſe."

For all this, turfs were accumulated, and the work was already breaſt-high, when, at laſt, overcome by his ſpirit and perſeverance, they forbore. Bleſus was an able ſpeaker; he told them, "that "ſedition and mutiny were not the methods of "conveying to the Emperor the pretenſions of the "ſoldiers; their demands too were new and ſin-"gular; ſuch as neither the ſoldiers of old had "ever made to the ancient Generals, nor they "themſelves to the deified Auguſtus: beſides, "their claims were ill-timed, when the Prince,

" juſt upon his acceſſion, was already embarraſſed " with the weight and variety of other cares. If " however they meant to try to gain in full peace " thoſe conceſſions, which, even after a civil war, " the conquerors never claimed; yet why trample " upon duty and obedience, why reject the laws " of the army, and rules of diſcipline? And if " they meant to petition, why meditate violence? " They might at leaſt appoint deputies; and in " his preſence truſt them with their pretenſions." Here they all cried out, " that the ſon of Bleſus, " one of their tribunes, ſhould execute that depu- " tation; and demand, in their name, that, after " ſixteen years ſervice, they ſhould be diſcharged. " They ſaid, they would give him new orders, " when he had ſucceeded in theſe." After the departure of the young officer, a moderate receſs enſued. The ſoldiers however exulted to have carried ſuch a point; the ſending the ſon of their General, as the public advocate for their cauſe, was to them full proof, that they had gained, by force and terror, that which, by modeſty, and gentle means, they would never have gained.

In the mean time thoſe companies, which, before the ſedition began, were ſent to Nauportum, to mend roads and bridges, and upon other duties, no ſooner heard of the uproar in the camp, but they caſt off all obedience, tore away the enſigns, and plundered the neighbouring villages. Even Nauportum itſelf, which for greatneſs reſembled a municipal city, was plundered. The endeavours of the Centurions, to reſtrain this violence, were firſt returned with mockery and contempt, then with invectives and contumelies, at laſt with outrage and blows. Their vengeance was chiefly bent againſt the camp-marſhal, Auſidienus Rufus: him they dragged from his chariot, and loading him with baggage, drove him before the firſt ranks.

They

They then inſulted him, and aſked in ſcorn, "whether he would gladly bear ſuch enormous burdens; whether endure ſuch immenſe marches?" Rufus had been long a common ſoldier, then became a Centurion, and afterwards Camp-Marſhal; a ſevere reſtorer of primitive ſtrictneſs and diſcipline; an indefatigable obſerver of every military duty, which he exacted from others with the more rigour, as he had himſelf undergone them with all patience.

By the arrival of this tumultuous band, the ſedition was again awakened to its former outrage, and the Seditious roving abroad without controul, ravaged the country on every ſide. Bleſus, for an example of terror to the reſt, commanded thoſe who were moſt laden with plunder, to be puniſhed with ſtripes, and caſt into priſon. For the General was ſtill dutifully obeyed by the Centurions, and by all the ſoldiers of any merit. But the criminals refuſed to ſubmit, and even ſtruggled with the guard who were carrying them off: They claſped the knees of the by-ſtanders, implored help from their fellows; now calling upon every individual, and conjuring them by their particular names; then appealed to them in a body, and ſupplicated the Company, the Cohort, the Legion, to which they belonged; warning and proclaiming, that the ſame ignominy and chaſtiſement hung over them all. With the ſame breath they heaped invectives without meaſure upon their General, and called upon heaven and all the Gods to be their witneſſes and avengers; nor left they ought unattempted to raiſe effectual hatred, compaſſion, terror, and every ſpecies of fury. Hence the whole body ruſhed to their relief, burſt open the priſon, unbound and reſcued the priſoners. Thus they owned for their brethren, and incorporated with themſelves, infamous revolters, and traitors convict and condemned.

Hence

Hence the violence became more raging, and hence more ſedition from more leaders. There was particularly one Vibulenus a common ſoldier, who, exalted on the ſhoulders of his comrades, before the tribunal of Bleſus, thus declaimed in the ears of a multitude already outrageous, and eager to hear what he had to ſay. "To theſe innocents, ſays "he, to theſe miſerable ſufferers, our fellow ſol-"diers, you have indeed reſtored breath and liber-"ty; but, who will reſtore life to my poor bro-"ther; who my poor brother to me? He was ſent "hither by the German armies, with propoſitions "for our common good; and for this, was laſt "night butchered by the ſame Bleſus, who in the "murder employed his gladiators, bloody men, "whom he purpoſely entertains and arms for our "common execution: where, oh Bleſus, haſt thou "thrown his mangled corps? Even open enemies "do not inhumanly deny burial to the ſlain. When "I have ſatiated my ſorrow with a thouſand kiſſes, "and a flood of tears, command me alſo to be "murdered, that theſe our brethren may together "bury my poor brother and me, ſlaughtered both "as victims, yet both guiltleſs of any crime, but "that of ſtudying the common intereſt of the le-"gions."

He inflamed thoſe his complaints and expoſtulations, with affecting ſighs and lamentations, beat his breaſt, and tore his face. Then, thoſe who carried him, giving way, he throwed himſelf headlong at the feet of his companions; and thus proſtrate and ſupplicating, in them raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of commiſeration, and ſuch a ſtorm of vengeance, that one party of them ſeized and bound the General's gladiators; another, the reſt of his family; while many ran and diſperſed themſelves to ſearch for the corps: and had it not been quickly manifeſt that there was no corps to be found, that the ſlaves

of Bleſus had upon the rack cleared themſelves, and that Vibulenus never had any brother; they had gone nigh to have ſacrificed the General. As it was, they expulſed the Camp-marſhal and Tribunes, and, as they fled, plundered their baggage. They likewiſe put to death Lucilius the Centurion, whom they had ſarcaſtically named *cede alteram*, becauſe when upon the back of a ſoldier he had broken one wand, he was wont to call for another, then a third. The other Centurions lurked in concealment, all but Julius Clemens, who, for his prompt capacity, was ſaved in order to manage the negociations of the ſoldiers. Even two of the Legions, the eighth and fifteenth, were ready to turn their ſwords upon each other; and had, but for the ninth. One Sirpicus, a Centurion, was the ſubject of the quarrel: him the eighth required to be put to death; the fifteenth protected him; but the ninth interpoſed with entreaties to both, and with threats to thoſe who would not liſten to prayers.

Tiberius, however cloſe and impenetrable, and ever labouring to ſmother all melancholy tidings, was yet driven by thoſe from Pannonia, to diſpatch his ſon Druſus thither, accompanied by the principal nobility, and guarded by two Prætorian cohorts; but charged with no preciſe inſtructions, only to adapt his meaſures to the preſent exigency. The cohorts were ſtrengthened with an extraordinary addition of choſen men, with the greateſt part of the Prætorian horſe, and main body of the German, then the emperor's guards. Ælius Sejanus, lately joined with his father Strabo in the command of the Prætorian bands, was alſo ſent, not only as governor to the young Prince, but, as his credit with the Emperor was known to be mighty, to deal with the revolters by promiſes and terrors. When Druſus approached, the Legions, for ſhew of reſpect, marched out to meet him, not with the uſual ſymptoms

and

and ſhouts of joy, nor with gay enſigns and arms glittering, but in a dreſs and accoutrements hideous and ſqualid. In their countenances too, though compoſed to ſadneſs, were ſeen greater marks of ſullenneſs and contumacy.

As ſoon as he was within the camp, they ſecured the entrances with guards, and in ſeveral quarters of it placed parties upon duty. The reſt crowded about the Tribunal of Druſus, who ſtood beckoning with his hand for ſilence. Here, as often as they ſurveyed their own numbers, and met one another's reſentful looks, they uttered their rage in horrible cries: Again, when they beheld CÆSAR upon the Tribunal, awe and trembling ſeized them. Now, there prevailed an hollow and inarticulate murmur; next, a furious clamour; then, ſuddenly, a dead ſilence. So that, by a haſty ſucceſſion of oppoſite paſſions, they were at once diſmayed and dreadful. When, at laſt, the uproar was ſtaid, he read his father's letters, who in them declared, "that he "would take an affectionate care of the brave and "invincible Legions, by whom he had ſuſtained "ſucceſsfully ſo many wars; and, as ſoon as his "grief was a little abated, deal with the Senate "about their demands; in the mean time he had "ſent them his ſon, on purpoſe to make them "forthwith all the conceſſions, which could in-"ſtantly be made them: the reſt were to be re-"ſerved for the Senate, the proper diſtributors of "rewards and puniſhments by a right altogether "unalienable."

The aſſembly anſwered, that to Julius Clemens they had intruſted what to ſpeak in their name: he began with their demands, "to be diſcharged af-"ter ſixteen years ſervice, to have the reward "which, for paſt ſervices upon that diſcharge, they "claimed; their pay to be increaſed to a Roman "Denarius; the Veterans to be no longer detained

" under their enſigns." When Druſus urged, that wholly in the judgment of the Senate and his father theſe matters reſted; he was interrupted by their clamours: " To what purpoſe came he; ſince he " could neither augment their pay, nor alleviate " their grievances? and while every officer was al- " lowed to inflict upon them blows and death, the " ſon of their Emperor wanted power to relieve " them by one beneficent action. This was the " policy of the late reign, when Tiberius fruſtrat- " ed every requeſt of the ſoldiers, by referring all " to Auguſtus; now Druſus was come, with the " ſame artifices, to delude them. Were they ne- " ver to have a higher viſit than from the children " of their Prince? It was, indeed, unaccountable, " that to the Senate the Emperor ſhould leave no " part in the direction of the army, only the re- " warding of the ſoldiery. Ought not the ſame " Senate to be conſulted as often as a battle was to " be fought, or a private man to be puniſhed? or, " were their recompences to be adjudged by many " maſters, but their puniſhments to remain with- " out any reſtraint or moderator whatſoever?"

At laſt, they abandoned the Tribunal, and with menaces and inſults fell upon all they met, belonging to Druſus either as guards or friends, meditating thus to provoke a quarrel, and an introduction to blood. Chiefly enraged they were againſt Cneius Lentulus, as one, for years and warlike renown, ſuperior to any about the perſon of Druſus, and thence ſuſpected to have hardened the Prince, and been himſelf the foremoſt to deſpiſe theſe outrages in the ſoldiery. Nor was it long after, that, as he was leaving Druſus, and, from the foreſight of danger, returning to the winter quarters, they ſurrounded him, and demanded, " whither he " went? to the Emperor or Senate? there alſo to " exerciſe his enmity to the Legions, and oppoſe

" their

" their intereſt?" and inſtantly aſſaulted him with ſtones. He was already covered with wounds and blood, and awaiting certain aſſaſſination, when the troops attending Druſus flew to his aſſiſtance, and ſaved him.

The following night had a formidable aſpect, and threatened the ſpeedy eruption of ſome tragical vengeance, when a phenomenon intervened and aſſwaged all. The moon, in the midſt of a clear ſky, ſeemed to the ſoldiers ſuddenly to ſicken; and they who were ignorant of the natural cauſe, took this for an omen foreboding the iſſue of their preſent adventures. To their own labours they compared the eclipſe of the planet, and propheſied, " that, if to the diſtreſſed goddeſs ſhould be re- " ſtored her wonted brightneſs and vigour, equally " ſucceſsful would be the iſſue of theſe their ſtrug- " gles." Hence they ſtrove to charm and revive her with ſounds, and, by ringing upon brazen metal, and an uproar of trumpets and cornets, made a vehement bellowing. As ſhe appeared brighter or darker, they exulted or lamented: but when gathering clouds had utterly bereft them of her ſight, and they believed her now buried in everlaſting darkneſs; then, as minds once thoroughly diſmayed are pliant to ſuperſtition, they bewailed " their " own eternal ſufferings thus portended, and that " againſt their miſdeeds the angry deities were con- " tending." Druſus, who thought it behoved him to improve this diſpoſition of theirs, and to reap the fruits of wiſdom from the operations of chance; ordered certain perſons to go round, and apply to them from tent to tent. For this purpoſe, he called and employed the Centurion Julius Clemens, and whoever elſe were by honeſt methods acceptable to the multitude. Theſe inſinuated themſelves every-where, with thoſe who kept watch, or were upon patrol, or guarded the gates, ſoothing all with

hopes, and by terrors rouſing them: "How long, "ſaid they, ſhall we hold the ſon of our Emperor "thus beſieged? Where will our broils and wild "contentions end? Shall we ſwear allegiance to "Percennius and Vibulenus? Will Vibulenus and "Percennius ſupport us with pay during our ſer-"vice, and reward us with lands when diſmiſſed? "In ſhort, ſhall two common men diſpoſſeſs the "Neroes and the Druſi, and to themſelves aſſume "the Empire of the Roman people? Let us be "wiſer; and as we were the laſt to revolt, be "the firſt to relent. Such demands as comprize "terms for all, are ever ſlowly accorded: but par-"ticulars may, when they pleaſe, merit inſtant fa-"vour, and inſtantly receive it." Theſe reaſon-ings alarmed them, and filled them with mutual jealouſies. Preſently the freſh ſoldiers forſook the Veterans, one Legion ſeparated from another; then by degrees returned the love of duty and obedience. They relinquiſhed the guard of the gates; and the Eagles and other enſigns, which in the beginning of the tumult they had thrown together, were now reſtored each to its diſtinct ſtation.

Druſus, as ſoon as it was day, ſummoned an aſ-ſembly, and though unſkilled in ſpeaking, yet with a haughtineſs inherent in his blood, rebuked their paſt, and commended their preſent behaviour: "With threats and terrors, he ſaid, it was impoſ-"ſible to ſubdue him; but if he ſaw them reclaim-"ed to ſubmiſſion, if from them he heard the lan-"guage of ſupplicants, he would ſend to his fa-"ther to accept with a reconciled ſpirit the peti-"tions of the Legions." Hence, at their entrea-ty, for their deputy to Tiberius, the ſame Bleſus was again diſpatched, and with him Lucius Apro-nius, a Roman Knight, and intimate companion of Druſus, and Juſtus Catonius, a Centurion of the firſt order. There followed great debates in

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the council of Druſus, while ſome adviſed " to " ſuſpend all proceeding, till the return of the " deputies, and by a courſe of courteſy the while " to ſooth the ſoldiers; others maintained, that re- " medies more potent muſt needs be applied: in a " multitude, was to be found nothing on this ſide " extremes; always imperious where they are not " awed, and to be deſpiſed without danger when " frightened. To their preſent terror from ſuper- " ſtition was to be added the dread of their Gene- " ral, by his dooming to death the authors of the " ſedition." Rather prompt to rigorous counſels was the genius of Druſus. Vibulenus and Percennius were produced, and by his command executed. It is by many recounted, that in his own tent they were ſecretly diſpatched and buried; by others, that their bodies were ignominiouſly thrown over the entrenchments, for a public ſpectacle of terror.

Search was then made for other remarkable incendiaries. Some were caught ſkulking without the camp, and there by the Centurions or Prætorian ſoldiers ſlain. Others were by their ſeveral companies delivered up, as a proof of their own fidelity. The conſternation of the ſoldiers was heightened by the precipitate acceſſion of winter, with rains inceſſant, and ſo violent, that they were unable to ſtir from their tents, or maintain common intercourſe, nay ſcarce to preſerve their ſtandards, aſſaulted continually by tempeſtuous winds and raging floods. Dread beſides of the angry Gods ſtill poſſeſſed them; " nor was it at random, they " thought, that ſuch profane traitors were thus vi- " ſited with black eclipſes, and roaring tempeſts; " neither againſt theſe their calamities was there " other relief than the relinquiſhing of a camp by " impiety contaminated and accurſed, and, after " expiation of their guilt, returning to their ſeve- " ral gariſons." The eighth legion departed firſt; then

then the fifteenth: the ninth, with earneſt clamours, preſſed for continuing there till the letters from Tiberius arrived; but when deſerted by the other two, their courage failed, and by following of their own accord, they prevented the ſhame of being forced. Druſus ſeeing order and tranquillity thus reſtored, without ſtaying for the return of the Deputies, returned himſelf to Rome.

Almoſt at the ſame time, and from the ſame cauſes, the legions in Germany raiſed an inſurrection, with greater numbers, and thence with more fury. Paſſionate too were their hopes that Germanicus would never brook the rule of another, but yield to the ſpirit of the legions, who had force ſufficient to bring the whole Empire under his ſway. Upon the Rhine were two armies; that called the higher, commanded by Caius Silius, Lieutenant-General; the lower, by Aulus Cæcina. The command in chief reſted in Germanicus, then buſy collecting the tribute in Gaul. The forces however under Silius, with cautious ambiguity, watched the ſucceſs of the revolt which others began: for the ſoldiers of the lower army had broken out into open outrages, which began from the fifth legion, and the one and twentieth, who drew after them the firſt and the twentieth. Theſe were altogether upon the frontiers of the Ubians, paſſing the campaign in utter idleneſs, or light duty: ſo that upon the news that Auguſtus was dead, the whole ſwarm of new ſoldiers lately levied in the city, men accuſtomed to the effeminacies of Rome, and impatient of every military hardſhip, began to poſſeſs the ignorant minds of the reſt with many turbulent expectations, "that now was preſented "the lucky juncture for Veterans to demand intire "diſmiſſion; the freſh ſoldiers, larger pay; and all, "ſome mitigation of their miſeries; as alſo to re-"turn due vengeance for the cruelties of the Cen-"turions."

" turions." Theſe were not the harangues of a ſingle incendiary, like Percennius amongſt the Pannonian legions; nor uttered, as there, in the ears of men, who, while they ſaw before their eyes armies greater than their own, mutinied with awe and trembling: But here was a ſedition of many mouths, filled with many boaſts, " that in their " hands lay the power and fate of Rome; by their " victories the Empire was inlarged, and from " them the Cæſars took, as a compliment, the " ſurname of Germanicus."

Neither did Cæcina ſtrive to reſtrain them. A madneſs ſo extenſive had bereft him of all his bravery and firmneſs. In this precipitate frenzy they ruſhed at once, with ſwords drawn, upon the Centurions, the eternal objects of their reſentment, and always the firſt victims to their vengeance. Them they dragged to the earth, and upon each beſtowed a terrible portion of ſixty blows; a number proportioned to that of Centurions in a legion. Then bruiſed, mangled, and half expiring, as they were, they caſt them all out of the camp, ſome into the ſtream of the Rhine. Septimius, who had for refuge fled to the tribunal of Cæcina, and lay claſping his feet, was demanded with ſuch imperious vehemence, that he was forced to be ſurrendered to deſtruction. Caſſius Chereal (afterwards famous to poſterity for killing Caligula) then a young man of undaunted ſpirit, and one of the Centurions, boldly opened himſelf a paſſage with his ſword through a crowd of armed foes ſtriving to ſeize him. After this no further authority remained to the Tribunes, none to the Camp-Marſhals. The ſeditious ſoldiers were their own officers; ſet the watch, appointed the guard, and gave all orders proper in the preſent exigency. Hence thoſe who dived deepeſt into the ſpirit of the ſoldiery, gathered a ſpecial indication how powerful and obdurate the preſent in-

ſurrection was like to prove; for in their conduct were no marks of a rabble, where every man's will guides him, or the inſtigation of a few controuls the whole. Here, all at once they raged, and all at once kept ſilence; with ſo much concert and ſteadineſs, that you would have believed them under the ſovereign direction of one.

To Germanicus the while, then receiving, as I have ſaid, the tribute in Gaul, news were brought of the deceaſe of Auguſtus, whoſe grand-daughter Agrippina he had to wife, and by her many children. He was himſelf the grandſon of Livia, by her ſon Druſus the brother of Tiberius; but ever under heavy anxiety from the ſecret hate which his uncle and grandmother bore him; hate the more virulent, as its grounds were altogether unrighteous. For, dear and adored was the memory of his father Druſus amongſt the Roman people, and from him was firmly expected, that had he ſucceeded to the Empire, he would have reſtored public liberty. Hence their zeal for Germanicus, and of him the ſame hopes conceived; as from his youth he poſſeſſed a popular ſpirit, and marvellous affability, utterly remote from the comportment and addreſs of Tiberius, ever haughty and myſterious. The animoſities too between the ladies adminiſtred freſh fuel, while, towards Agrippina, Livia was actuated by the deſpight natural to ſtep-mothers: and over-tempeſtuous was the indignation of Agrippina; only that her known chaſtity, and love for her huſband, always gave her mind, however vehement, a virtuous turn.

But Germanicus, the nearer he ſtood to ſupreme rule, the more vigour he exerted to ſecure it to Tiberius; to whom he obliged the Sequanians, a neighbouring people, as alſo the ſeveral Belgic cities, to ſwear preſent allegiance; and the moment he learnt the uproar of the legions, poſted thither.

He

He found them advanced without the camp to receive him, with eyes caſt down, in feigned token of remorſe. After he entered the entrenchments, inſtantly his ears were filled with plaints and grievances, uttered in hideous and mixt clamours. Nay, ſome catching his hand, as if they meant to kiſs it, thruſt his fingers into their mouths, to feel their gums deſtitute of teeth; others ſhewed their limbs enfeebled, and bodies ſtooping under old age. As he ſaw the aſſembly mixt at random, he commanded them "to range themſelves into companies, thence "more diſtinctly to hear his anſwers; as alſo to "place before them their ſeveral Enſigns; that the "cohorts at leaſt might be diſtinguiſhed." With ſlowneſs and reluctance they obeyed him. Then beginning with an encomium upon the "venerable "memory of Auguſtus," he proceeded to the "many victories and many triumphs of Tiberius, "and with peculiar praiſes celebrated the glorious "and immortal deeds, which with theſe very le-"gions he had accompliſhed in Germany;" he next boaſted the quiet ſtate of things, the conſent of all Italy, the loyal faith of both the Gauls; and every quarter of the Roman ſtate exempt from diſaffection and diſorders.

Thus far they liſtened with ſilence, at leaſt with moderate murmuring; but the moment he touched their ſedition, and queſtioned, "where now was "the wonted modeſty of ſoldiers? where the glory "of ancient diſcipline? whither had they chaſed "their Tribunes, whither their Centurions?" to a man, they ſtripped themſelves to the ſkin, and there expoſed the ſeams of their wounds, and bruiſes of their chaſtiſements, in the rage of reproach. Then in the undiſtinguiſhed voice of uproar, they urged, "the exactions for occaſional exemptions; their "ſcanty pay; and their rigorous labours;" which they repreſented in a long detail; "ramparts to be reared;

" reared; entrenchments digged, trees felled and " drawn; forage cut and carried; fuel prepared " and fetched;" with every other article of toil required by the exigencies of war, or to prevent idleneſs in the ſoldiery. Above all, from the Veterans aroſe a cry moſt vehement and furious: they enumerated thirty years or upwards undergone in the ſervice, " and beſought, that, to men utterly " ſpent, he would adminiſter reſpite, nor ſuffer " them to be beholden to death for the laſt relief " from their toils; but diſcharge them from a war- " fare ſo laſting and ſevere, and grant them the " means of a comfortable receſs." Nay, ſome there were who required of him the money bequeathed them by Auguſtus; and towards Germanicus uttering zealous vows, with omens of happy fortune, declared their cordial attachment to his cauſe, if he would himſelf aſſume the Empire. Here, as already ſtained with their treaſon, he leaped headlong from the Tribunal; but with ſwords drawn they oppoſed his departure, and threatened his life, if he refuſed to return: yet, with paſſionate proteſtations, that " he would rather die than be a traitor," he ſnatched his ſword from his ſide, and aiming full at his breaſt, would have buried it there, had not thoſe who were next him ſeized his hand, and by force reſtrained him. A cluſter of ſoldiers in the extremity of the aſſembly, exhorted him, nay, what is incredible to hear, ſome particulars advancing nearer, exhorted him, *to ſtrike home*. In truth, one Caluſidius, a common ſoldier, preſented him his naked ſword, and added, " it is ſharper than your " own;" a behaviour which to the reſt, outrageous as they were, ſeemed ſavage, and of horrid example. Hence, the friends of Germanicus had time to ſnatch him away to his tent.

It was here conſulted what remedy to apply; for it was adviſed, that " miniſters of ſedition were " pre-

" preparing to be diſpatched to the other army, to " draw them too into a confederacy in the revolt; " that the capital of the Ubians was deſtined to be " ſacked; and if their hands were once inured to " plunder, they would break in, and ravage all " Gaul." This dread was augmented by another: the enemy knew of the ſedition in the Roman army, and were ready to invade the Empire, if its barrier the Rhine were left unguarded. Now, to arm the allies and the auxiliaries of Rome, and lead them againſt the departing Legions, was to rouſe a civil war: ſeverity was dangerous; the way of largeſſes infamous; and alike threatning it was to the State, to grant the turbulent ſoldiers nothing, or yield them every thing. After revolving every reaſon and objection, the reſult was, to feign letters and directions from Tiberius, " that thoſe who had ſerved twenty " years ſhould be finally diſcharged; ſuch as had " ſerved ſixteen be under the enſign and privilege of " Veterans, releaſed from every duty, but that of " repulſing the enemy; and the legacy which they " demanded, ſhould be paid and doubled."

The ſoldiers, who perceived, that, purely to evade preſent difficulty, the conceſſions were forged, inſiſted to have them forthwith executed; and inſtantly the Tribunes diſpatched the diſcharge of the Veterans. That of the money was adjourned to their ſeveral winter-quarters: but the fifth Legion, and the one and twentieth, refuſed to ſtir, till in that very camp they were paid; ſo that out of the money reſerved by himſelf and his friends for travelling expences, Germanicus was obliged to raiſe the ſum. Cæcina, Lieutenant-General, led the firſt Legion and twentieth, back to the capital of the Ubians; an infamous march, when the plunder of their General's coffers was carried amidſt the Enſigns and Roman Eagles. Germanicus, the while, proceeding to the army in higher Germany, brought the

ſecond, thirteenth and ſixteenth Legions to ſwear allegiance without heſitation: to the fourteenth, who manifeſted ſome ſhort ſuſpenſe, he made, unaſked, a tender of their money, and a preſent diſcharge.

But a party of Veterans which belonged to the diſorderly Legions, and then in gariſon among the Chaucians, as they began a ſedition there, were ſomewhat quelled by the inſtant execution of two of their body; an execution commanded by Mennius, Camp-Marſhal, and rather of good example, than done by competent authority. The tumult however ſwelling again with freſh rage, he fled, but was diſcovered; ſo that, finding no ſafety in lurking, from his own bravery he drew his defence, and declared, "that to himſelf, who was only their "Camp-Marſhal, theſe their outrages were not "done, but done to the authority of Germanicus "their General, to the Majeſty of Tiberius their "Emperor." At the ſame time, braving and diſmaying all that would have ſtopped him, he fiercely ſnatched the colours, faced about towards the Rhine, and, pronouncing the doom of traitors and deſerters to every man who forſook his ranks, brought them back to their winter-quarters, mutinous, in truth, but not daring to mutiny.

In the mean time the deputies from the Senate met Germanicus at the altar of the Ubians, whither in his return he was arrived. Two Legions wintered there, the firſt, and twentieth, with the ſoldiers lately placed under the ſtandard of Veterans; men already under the diſtractions of guilt and fear: and now a new terror poſſeſſed them, that theſe Senators were come armed with injunctions to cancel every conceſſion which they had by ſedition extorted; and, as it is the cuſtom of the crowd to be ever charging ſomebody with the crimes ſuggeſted by their own falſe alarms, the guilt of this imaginary

decree

decree they laid upon Minutius Plancus, a Senator of conſular dignity, and at the head of this deputation. In the dead of night, they began to clamour aloud for the purple ſtandard placed in the quarters of Germanicus; and ruſhing tumultuouſly to his gate, burſt the doors, dragged the Prince out of his bed, and with menaces of preſent death, compelled him to deliver the ſtandard. Then, as they roved about the camp, they met the Deputies; who having learnt the outrage, were haſtening to Germanicus: upon them they poured a deluge of contumelies, and were devoting them to preſent ſlaughter; Plancus chiefly, whom the dignity of his character had reſtrained from flight; nor in this mortal danger had he other refuge than the quarters of the firſt Legion, where, embracing the Eagle, and other enſigns, he ſought ſanctuary from the religious veneration ever paid them. But, in ſpite of religion, had not Calpurnius the Eagle-bearer by force defeated the violent aſſault, in the Roman camp had been ſlain an Ambaſſador of the Roman people, and with his blood the inviolable altars of the Gods had been ſtained; a barbarity rare even in the camp of an enemy. At laſt, day returning, when the General, and the ſoldiers, and their actions could be diſtinguiſhed, Germanicus entered the camp; and commanding Plancus to be brought, ſeated him by himſelf upon the tribunal: he then inveighed againſt the late "pernicious frenzy, which "in it, he ſaid, had fatality, and was rekindled "by no deſpite in the ſoldiers, but by that of the "angry Gods." He explained the genuine purpoſes of that Embaſſy, and lamented with affecting eloquence "the outrage committed upon Plancus, "altogether brutal and unprovoked; the foul vio-"lence done to the ſacred perſon of an Ambaſſador, "and the mighty diſgrace from thence derived "upon the Legion." Yet as the aſſembly ſhewed

more

more ſtupefaction than calmneſs, he diſmiſſed the Deputies under a guard of auxiliary horſe.

During this affright, Germanicus was by all men cenſured, "that he retired not to the higher army, "whence he had been ſure of ready obedience, and "even of ſuccour againſt the revolters. Already "he had taken wrong meaſures more than enough, "by diſcharging ſome, rewarding all, and other "tender counſels. If he deſpiſed his own ſafety; "yet why expoſe his infant-ſon, why his wife big "with child, to the fury of outrageous traitors, "wantonly violating all the moſt ſacred rights "amongſt men? It became him at leaſt to reſtore "his wife and ſon ſafe to Tiberius, and to the "ſtate." He was long unreſolved; beſides Agrippina was averſe to leave him, and urged that "ſhe was the grand-daughter of Auguſtus, and it "was below her ſpirit to ſhrink in a time of danger." But, embracing her and their little ſon, with great tenderneſs and many tears, he prevailed with her to depart. Thus there marched miſerably along a band of helpleſs women; the wife of a great commander fled like a fugitive, and upon her boſom bore her infant-ſon; about her a troop of other ladies, dragged from their huſbands, and drowned in tears, uttering their heavy lamentations. Nor weaker than theirs was the grief felt by all who remained.

Theſe groans and tears, and this ſpectacle of woe, the appearances rather of a city ſtormed and ſacked, than of a Roman camp, that of Germanicus Cæſar, victorious and flouriſhing, awakened attention and inquiry in the ſoldiers: leaving their tents, they cried, "Whence theſe doleful wailings? what "ſo lamentable! ſo many ladies of illuſtrious qua-"lity, travelling thus forlorn; not a Centurion "to attend them; not a ſoldier to guard them; "their General's wife amongſt them, undiſtin-

"guiſhed

" guiſhed by any mark of her princely dignity,
" deſtitute of her ordinary train; frightened from
" the Roman Legions, and repairing, like an exile,
" for ſhelter to Treves, there to commit herſelf to
" the faith of foreigners." Hence ſhame and commiſeration ſeized them, and the remembrance of her illuſtrious family, with that of her own virtues; the brave Agrippa her father; the mighty Auguſtus her grand-father; the amiable Druſus her father-in-law, herſelf celebrated for a fruitful bed, and of ſignal chaſtity: add the conſideration of her little ſon, born in the camp, nurſed in the arms of the Legions, and by themſelves named Caligula, a military name from the boots which of the ſame faſhion with their own, in compliment to them, and to win their affections, he frequently wore. But nothing ſo effectually ſubdued them as their own envy towards the inhabitants of Treves. Hence they all beſought, all adjured, that ſhe would return to themſelves, and with themſelves remain. Thus ſome ſtopped Agrippina; but the main body returned with their intreaties to Germanicus; who, as he was yet in the tranſports of grief and anger, addreſſed himſelf on this wiſe to the ſurrounding crowd:

" To me neither is my wife or ſon dearer than
" my father and the commonwealth. But him
" doubtleſs his proper majeſty will defend; and
" the other armies will defend the Roman State.
" As to my wife and children, whom, for your
" glory, I could freely ſacrifice; I now remove
" them from your rage, that by my blood alone
" may be expiated whatever further miſchief your
" fury meditates; and that the murder of the great
" grandſon of Auguſtus, the murder of the daughter-
" in-law of Tiberius, may not be added to mine,
" nor to the blackneſs of your paſt guilt. For,
" during theſe days of phrenſy, what has been too

" horrid

" horrid for you to commit? What ſo ſacred that
" you have not violated? To this audience what
" name ſhall I give? Can I call you *Soldiers?* you
" who have beſet with arms the ſon of your Em-
" peror, confined him in your trenches, and held
" him in a ſiege? *Roman citizens* can I call you?
" you who have trampled upon the ſupreme authority
" of the Roman Senate? Laws religiouſly obſerved
" by common enemies, you have profaned; vio-
" lated the ſacred privileges and perſons of Am-
" baſſadors; broken the laws of nations. The
" deified Julius Cæſar quelled a ſedition in his army
" by a ſingle word; by calling all who refuſed to
" follow him, *Townſmen.* The deified Auguſtus,
" when, after the battle of Actium, the Legions
" lapſed into mutiny, terrified them into ſubmiſ-
" ſion by the dignity of his preſence, and an awful
" look. Theſe, it is true, are mighty characters,
" whom I dare not emulate: but, as I inherit their
" blood, ſhould the armies in Syria and Spain con-
" temn my authority, I ſhould think their beha-
" viour ſtrange and baſe. Yet you are the firſt
" and the twentieth Legions, the former enrolled
" by Tiberius himſelf, the other his conſtant com-
" panions in ſo many battels, his partners in ſo
" many victories, and by him enriched with ſo many
" bounties! Is this the worthy return you make
" your Emperor, and late commander? And ſhall
" I be the author of ſuch tidings to him, in the
" midſt of congratulations and happy accounts
" from every province in the Empire, that his own
" new levies, as well as his own Veterans who
" long fought under him, theſe, not appeaſed by
" their diſcharge, and neither of them ſatiated
" with the money given them, are both ſtill com-
" bined in a furious mutiny? that here, and only
" here, the Centurions are butchered, the Tribunes
" driven away, the Ambaſſadors impriſoned; that

" with

" with blood the camp is ſtained; that the rivers
" flow with blood; and that for me, his ſon, I
" hold a precarious life amongſt men thus raging
" and implacable?

" Why did you the other day, oh unſeaſonable
" friends! ſnatch away my ſword, when I would
" have plunged it into my breaſt? He who offered
" me his own ſword, acted better, and was more
" my friend. I would then have fallen happy, as
" my death would have hid from mine eyes ſo
" many horrible crimes, ſince committed by my
" own army. You too would have choſen another
" General, who, though he would have left my
" death unpuniſhed, yet would have ſought ven-
" geance for that of Varus, and the three Legions.
" For the Gods are too juſt to permit that the Bel-
" gians, however generouſly they offer their ſer-
" vice, ſhall reap the credit and renown of retriev-
" ing the glory of the Roman name, and of re-
" ducing in behalf of Rome the German nations
" her foes. I therefore here invoke thy ſpirit now
" with the Gods, oh deified Auguſtus; and thy
" image interwoven in the enſigns, and thy me-
" mory, oh deceaſed father, to vindicate theſe Le-
" gions from this foul infamy. They already feel
" the remorſes of ſhame, and a ſenſe of honour.
" Let them turn the tide of their civil rage to the
" deſtruction of their common enemy. And for
" you, my fellow ſoldiers, in whom I now behold
" other countenances, and minds happily changed;
" if you mean to reſtore to the Senate its Ambaſ-
" ſadors, to your Emperor your ſworn obedience,
" to me my wife and ſon; fly the company of in-
" cendiaries, ſeparate the ſober from the ſeditious.
" This will be a faithful ſign of remorſe, this a firm
" pledge of fidelity."

Theſe words ſoftened them into ſupplicants: they confeſſed that all his reproaches were true; they

they beſought him to puniſh the guilty and malicious, to pardon the weak and miſled, and to lead them againſt the enemy; to recal his wife, to bring back his ſon, nor to ſuffer the foſterling of the Legions to be given in hoſtage to the Gauls. Againſt the recalling of Agrippina he alledged the advance of winter, and her approaching delivery; but ſaid, that his ſon ſhould return, and that to themſelves he left to execute what remained further to be executed. Inſtantly, with changed reſentments, they ran, and, ſeizing the moſt ſeditious, dragged them in bonds to Caius Cetronius, commander of the firſt Legion, who judged and puniſhed them in this manner. The Legions, with their ſwords drawn, ſurrounded the Tribunal; from thence the priſoner was by a Tribune expoſed to their view, and if they proclaimed him guilty, caſt headlong down, and executed even by his fellow-ſoldiers, who rejoiced in the execution, becauſe by it they thought their own guilt to be expiated: nor did Germanicus reſtrain them, ſince on themſelves remained the cruelty and reproach of the ſlaughter committed without any order of his. The Veterans followed the ſame example of vengeance, and were ſoon after ordered into Rhetia, in appearance to defend that province againſt the invading Suevians; in reality, to remove them from a camp, ſtill horrible to their ſight, as well in the remedy and puniſhment, as from the memory of their crime. Germanicus next paſſed a ſcrutiny upon the conduct and characters of the Centurions: before him they were cited ſingly; and each gave account of his name, his company, country, the length of his ſervice, exploits in war, and military preſents, if he had been diſtinguiſhed with any. If the Tribunes, or his Legion, bore teſtimony of his diligence and integrity, he kept his poſt; upon concurring complaint of his avarice or cruelty, he was degraded.

Thus

Thus were the preſent commotions appeaſed; but others as great ſtill ſubſiſted, from the rage and obſtinacy of the fifth and twenty-firſt Legions. They were in winter-quarters ſixty miles off, in a place called the *Old Camp*, and had firſt began the ſedition: nor was there any wickedneſs ſo horrid that they had not perpetrated; nay, at this time, neither terrified by the puniſhment, nor reclaimed by the reformation of their fellow ſoldiers, they perſevered in their fury. Germanicus therefore determined to give them battle, if they perſiſted in their revolt, and prepared veſſels, arms, and troops, to be ſent down the Rhine.

Before the iſſue of the ſedition in Illyricum was known at Rome, tidings of the uproar in the German Legions arrived. Hence the city was filled with much terror, and hence againſt Tiberius many complaints, "that while with feigned conſultations and delays he mocked the Senate and "People, once the great bodies of the eſtate, but "now bereft of power and armies, the ſoldiery "were in open rebellion, one too mighty and ſtub-"born to be quelled by two Princes ſo young in "years and authority. He ought at firſt to have "gone himſelf, and awed them with the majeſty of "imperial power; as doubtleſs they would have "returned to duty, upon the ſight of their Em-"peror, a Prince of conſummate experience, the "ſovereign diſpoſer of rewards and ſeverity. Did "Auguſtus, even under the preſſures of old age "and infirmities, take ſo many journies into Ger-"many? and ſhould Tiberius, in the vigour of "his life, when the ſame, or greater occaſions "called him thither, ſit lazily in the Senate, to "watch Senators, and cavil at words? He had "fully provided for the domeſtic ſervitude of Rome; "he ought next to cure the licentiouſneſs of the "ſoldiers,

" ſoldiers, to reſtrain their turbulent ſpirits, and re-
" concile them to a life of peace."

But all theſe reaſonings and reproaches moved not Tiberius. He was determined not to depart from the Capital, the centre of power and affairs, nor expoſe to chance or peril his perſon and empire. In truth, many and contrary difficulties preſſed and perplexed him: " the German army
" was the ſtronger; that of Pannonia nearer; the
" power of both the Gauls ſupported the former;
" the latter was at the gates of Italy. Now, to
" which ſhould he repair firſt? and would not the
" laſt viſited be enraged, by being poſtponed? But
" by ſending one of his ſons to each, the equal
" treatment of both was maintained; as alſo the
" majeſty of the ſupreme power, which from di-
" ſtance ever derived moſt reverence. Beſides,
" the young Princes would be excuſed, if to their
" father they referred ſuch demands as were im-
" proper for them to grant; and if they diſobeyed
" Germanicus and Druſus, his own authority re-
" mained to appeaſe or puniſh them. But if once
" they had contemned their Emperor himſelf, what
" other reſource was behind?" However, as if he had been upon the point of marching, he choſe his attendants, provided his equipage, and prepared a fleet: but by various delays and pretences, ſometimes that of the winter, ſometimes buſineſs, he deceived for a time even the wiſeſt men, much longer the common people, and the provinces for a great while.

Germanicus had already drawn together his army, and was prepared to take vengeance on the ſeditious: but judging it proper to allow ſpace for trial whether they would follow the late example, and, conſulting their own ſafety, do juſtice upon one another; he ſent letters to Cæcina, " that he himſelf ap-
" proached, with a powerful force; and, if they
" pre-

" prevented him not, by executing the guilty, he " would put all indifferently to the ſlaughter." Theſe letters Cæcina privately read to the principal Officers, and ſuch of the camp as the ſedition had not tainted; beſought them, " to redeem them- " ſelves from death, and all from infamy; urged " that in peace alone reaſon was heard, and merit " diſtinguiſhed; but in the rage of war, the blind " ſteel ſpared the innocent no more than the guilty." The Officers having tried thoſe whom they believed for their purpoſe, and found the majority ſtill to perſevere in their duty, ſettled, in concurrence with the General, the time for falling with the ſword upon the moſt notoriouſly guilty and turbulent. Upon a particular ſignal given, they ruſhed into their tents, and butchered them; void as they were of all apprehenſion; nor did any but the Centurions and executioners know whence the maſſacre began, or where it would end.

This had a different face from all the civil ſlaughters that ever happened: it was a ſlaughter not of enemies upon enemies, nor from different and oppoſite camps, nor in a day of battle; but of comrades upon comrades, in the ſame tents where they eat together by day, where they ſlept together by night. From this ſtate of intimacy, they fly into mortal enmity; friends launched their darts at friends: wounds, outcries, and blood were open to view; but the cauſe remained hid: wild chance governed the reſt, and ſeveral innocents were ſlain. For the criminals, when they found againſt whom all this fury was bent, had alſo betaken themſelves to their arms. Neither did Cæcina, nor any of the Tribunes, intervene to ſtay the rage: ſo that the ſoldiers had full permiſſion of vengeance, with a licentiouſneſs and ſatiety of killing. Germanicus ſoon after entered the camp now full of blood and carcaſſes, and, lamenting with many tears, that

" this was not a remedy, but cruelty and deſola-
" tion," commanded the bodies to be burnt. The minds of the reſt, ſtill tempeſtuous and bloody, were tranſported with ſudden eagerneſs to attack the foe; as the beſt expiation of their tragical fury: nor otherwiſe, they thought, could the ghoſts of their butchered brethren be appeaſed, than by receiving in their own profane breaſts a chaſtiſement of honourable wounds. Germanicus fell in with the ardour of the ſoldiers, and laying a bridge upon the Rhine, marched over twelve thouſand Legionary ſoldiers, twenty-ſix cohorts of the allies, and eight regiments of horſe; men all untainted in the late ſedition.

The Germans rejoiced, not far off, at this vacation of war, occaſioned firſt by the death of Auguſtus, and afterwards by inteſtine tumults in the camp. But the Romans by a haſty march paſſed through the Cæſian woods, and levelling the barrier formerly begun by Tiberius, pitched their camp upon it. In the front and rear they were defended by a paliſade, on each ſide by a barricade of the trunks of trees felled. From thence, beginning to traverſe gloomy foreſts, they ſtopped to conſult which of two ways they ſhould chuſe, the ſhort and frequented, or the longeſt and leaſt known, and therefore unſuſpected by the foe. The longeſt way was choſen; but in every thing elſe diſpatch was obſerved: for, by the ſcouts intelligence was brought, that the Germans did, that night, celebrate a feſtival, with great mirth and revelling. Hence Cæcina was commanded to advance with the cohorts without their baggage, and to clear a paſſage through the foreſt: at moderate a diſtance followed the Legions: the clearneſs of the night facilitated the march; and they arrived at the villages of the Marſians, which they preſently inveſted with guards. The Germans were even yet under the effects of

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their debauch, ſcattered here and there, ſome in bed, ſome lying by their tables; no watch placed, no apprehenſion of an enemy. So utterly had their falſe ſecurity baniſhed all order and care; and they were under no dread of war, without enjoying peace, other than the deceitful and lethargic peace of drunkards.

The Legions were eager for revenge; and Germanicus, to extend their ravage, divided them into four battalions. The country was waſted by fire and ſword fifty miles round; nor ſex nor age found mercy; places ſacred and prophane had the equal lot of deſtruction, all razed to the ground, and with them the Temple of Tanfana, of all others the moſt celebrated amongſt theſe nations. Nor did all this execution coſt the ſoldiers a wound, while they only ſlew men half aſleep, diſarmed, or diſperſed. This ſlaughter rouſed the Bructerans, the Tubantes, and the Uſipetes; and they beſet the paſſes of the foreſt, through which the army was to return; an event known to Germanicus, and he marched in order of battle: the auxiliary cohorts and part of the horſe led the van, followed cloſe by the firſt Legion; the baggage was in the middle; the twenty-firſt Legion cloſed the left wing, and the fifth the right; the twentieth defended the rear; and after them marched the reſt of the allies. But the enemy ſtirred not, till the body of the army was entered the wood: they then began lightly to inſult the front and wings; and, at laſt, with their whole force fell upon the rear. The light cohorts were already diſordered by the cloſe German bands, when Germanicus riding up to the twentieth Legion, and exalting his voice; "this was the ſeaſon, he cried, to obliterate the "ſcandal of ſedition: hence they ſhould fall re- "ſolutely on, and convert into ſudden praiſe their "late ſhame and offence." Theſe words inflamed

them: at one charge they broke the enemy, drove them out of the wood, and ſlaughtered them in the plain. In the mean while, the front paſſed the foreſt, and fortified the camp. The reſt of the march was uninterrupted, and the ſoldiers, truſting to the merit of their late exploits, and forgetting at once paſt faults and terrors, were placed in winter-quarters.

The tydings of theſe exploits affected Tiberius with gladneſs and anguiſh. He rejoiced that the ſedition was ſuppreſſed; but, that Germanicus had, by diſcharging the Veterans, by ſhortening the term of ſervice to the reſt, and by largeſſes to all, gained the hearts of the army, as well as earned high glory in war; proved to the emperor matter of torture. To the Senate, however, he reported the detail of his feats, and upon his valour beſtowed copious praiſes, but in words too pompous and ornamental to be thought dictated by his heart. It was with more brevity that he commended Druſus, and his addreſs in quelling the ſedition of Illyricum, but more cordially withal, and in language altogether ſincere; and even to the Pannonian Legions he extended all the conceſſions made by Germanicus to his own.

The ſame year died Julia, for her lewdneſs long ſince baniſhed by her father Auguſtus into the iſle of Pandateria, and afterwards to the city of Rhegium upon the ſtreights of Sicily. Whilſt Caius and Lucius, her ſons by Agrippa, yet lived, ſhe was given in marriage to Tiberius; and deſpiſed him, as a man beneath her. Nor any motive ſo cogent as this had Tiberius for his retirement to Rhodes. When he came to the empire, ſhe was already under the preſſures of infamy and exile, and ſince the death of Agrippa Poſthumus, deſtitute of all hope and ſupport. Yet ſuch multiplied diſtreſſes ſoftened not the Emperor, who, by a long train of miſeries,

miſeries, and continued want, cauſed her finally to periſh; as he ſuppoſed that in the diſtance of her baniſhment her tragical death would remain concealed. From the ſame root was derived his cruelty to Sempronius Gracchus, the deſcendant of a family eminently noble, himſelf of a lively wit and prevailing eloquence, but viciouſly applied. He, while Julia was yet Agrippa's wife, had debauched her: neither with Agrippa ended their vicious league; but after ſhe was given to Tiberius, he ſtill perſiſted her adulterer, and towards her huſband inſpired her with notable averſion and contumacy: The letters too by her written to her father, full of aſperity againſt Tiberius, and labouring his ruin, were thought to have been compoſed by Gracchus. He was therefore baniſhed to Cercina, an iſland in the African ſea, where, for fourteen years, he ſuffered exile. The ſoldiers diſpatched to the aſſaſſination found him upon a riſing by the ſhore, to himſelf preſaging nothing joyful from their arrival. Of them he only deſired a ſhort reſpite to ſend his laſt will in a letter to Alliaria his wife, and then extended his neck to the ſword of the aſſaſſins; a conſtancy in death not unworthy the Sempronian name: in his life he had degenerated. Some authors have related, that theſe ſoldiers were not ſent directly from Rome, but by Lucius Aſprenas, Proconſul of Africa, by the policy and command of Tiberius, who in vain hoped to have caſt upon Aſprenas the imputation of the murder.

There was likewiſe this year an admiſſion of new rites, by the eſtabliſhment of another College of Prieſts, one ſacred to the deity of Auguſtus; as formerly Titus Tatius, to preſerve the religious rites of the Sabines, had founded the fraternity of Titian Prieſts. To fill the ſociety, one and twenty the moſt conſiderable Romans were drawn by lot, and to them were added Tiberius, Druſus,

Claudius, and Germanicus. The games in honour of Auguſtus, began then firſt to be embroiled by emulation among the players, and by the ſtrife of parties in their behalf. Auguſtus had countenanced theſe players, and their art, in complaiſance to Mæcenas, who was mad in love with Bathyllus the comedian; nor to ſuch favourite amuſements of the populace had he any averſion himſelf; he rather judged it an acceptable courteſy to mingle with the multitude in theſe their popular pleaſures. Different was the temper of Tiberius, different his politics: to ſeverer manners, however, he durſt not yet reduce the people ſo many years indulged in licentious gaieties.

In the conſulſhip of Druſus Cæſar and Caius Norbanus, a triumph was decreed to Germanicus, while the war ſtill ſubſiſted. He was preparing with all diligence to proſecute it the following ſummer; but began much ſooner by a ſudden irruption early in the ſpring into the territories of the Cattians; an anticipation of the campaign, which proceeded from the hopes given him of diſſenſion amongſt the enemy, cauſed by the oppoſite parties of Arminius and Segeſtes; two men ſignally known to the Romans upon different accounts; the laſt for his firm faith, the firſt for faith violated. Arminius was the incendiary of Germany; but by Segeſtus had been given repeated warnings of an intended revolt, particularly during the feſtival immediately preceding the inſurrection. He had even adviſed Varus, "to ſecure him and Arminius, and all the "other chiefs; for that the multitude, thus bereft "of their leaders, would dare to attempt nothing; "and Varus have time to diſtinguiſh crimes and "ſuch as committed none." But by his own fate, and the ſudden violence of Arminius, Varus fell. Segeſtes, though by the weight and unanimity of his nation, he was forced into the war, yet remained

ed at conſtant variance with Arminius: a domeſtic quarrel too heightened their hate; as Arminius had carried away the daughter of Segeſtes, already betrothed to another; and the ſame relations which amongſt friends prove bonds of tenderneſs, were freſh ſtimulations of wrath to an obnoxious ſon, and an offended father.

Upon theſe encouragements, Germanicus committed to the command of Cæcina four Legions, five thouſand auxiliaries, and ſome bands of Germans, dwellers on this ſide the Rhine, drawn ſuddenly together; he led himſelf as many Legions, with double the number of allies, and erecting a fort in mount Taunus, upon the old foundations of one raiſed by his father, ruſhed full march againſt the Cattians; having behind him left Lucius Apronius, to ſecure the ways from the fury of inundations. For, as the roads were then dry, and the rivers low, events in that climate exceedingly rare, he had without check expedited his march, but againſt his return apprehended the violence of rains and floods. Upon the Cattians he fell with ſuch ſurprize, that all the weak, through ſex or age, were inſtantly taken or ſlaughtered. Their youth, by ſwimming over the Adrana, eſcaped, and attempted to force the Romans from building a bridge to follow them, but by dint of arrows and engines were repulſed; then having in vain tried to gain terms of peace, ſome ſubmitted to Germanicus; the reſt abandoned their villages and dwellings, and diſperſed themſelves in the woods. Mattium, the Capital of the nation he burnt, ravaged all the open country, and bent his march to the Rhine: nor durſt the enemy haraſs his rear; an uſual practice of theirs, when ſometimes they fly more through craft than affright. The Cheruſcans indeed were addicted to aſſiſt the Cattians, but terrified from attempting it by Cæcina, who moved about with his

forces from place to place; and, by routing the Marſians who had dared to engage him, reſtrained all their efforts.

Soon after arrived deputies from Segeſtes, praying relief againſt the combination and violence of his countrymen, by whom he was held beſieged; as more powerful amongſt them than his was the credit of Arminius, ſince it was he who had adviſed the war. This is the genius of Barbarians, to judge that men are to be truſted in proportion as they are fierce, and in public commotions ever to prefer the moſt reſolute. To the other deputies Segeſtes had added Segimundus his ſon; but the young man faultered a while, as his own heart accuſed him; for that, the year when Germany revolted, he who had been by the Romans created Prieſt of the Altar of the Ubians, rent the ſacerdotal Tiara, and fled to the revolters: yet, encouraged by the Roman clemency, he undertook the execution of his father's orders, was himſelf graciouſly received, and then conducted with a guard to the frontiers of Gaul. Germanicus led back his army to the relief of Segeſtes, and was rewarded with ſucceſs. He fought the beſiegers, and reſcued him with a great train of his relations and followers; amongſt them too were ladies of illuſtrious rank, particularly the wife of Arminius, ſhe who was the daughter of Segeſtes; a lady more of the ſpirit of her husband than that of her father; a ſpirit ſo unſubdued, that from her eyes captivity forced not a tear, nor from her lips a breath in the ſtile of a ſupplicant. Not a motion of her hands, nor a look eſcaped her; but, faſt acroſs her breaſt ſhe held her arms, and upon her heavy womb her eyes were immoveably fixed. There were likewiſe carried Roman ſpoils taken at the ſlaughter of Varus and his army, and then divided as prey amongſt many of thoſe who were now priſoners. At the

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ſame time, appeared Segeſtes, of ſuperior ſtature; and from a confidence in his good underſtanding with the Romans, undaunted. In this manner he ſpoke:

'This is not the firſt day, that to the Roman 'people I have approved my faith and adherence. 'From the moment I was by the deified Auguſtus 'preſented with the freedom of the city, I have 'continued by your intereſt to chuſe my friends, 'by your intereſt to denominate my enemies; from 'no hate of mine to my native country (for odious 'are traitors even to the party which they embrace) 'but, becauſe the ſame meaſures were equally con-'ducing to the benefit of the Romans and of the 'Germans; and I was for peace rather than war. 'For this reaſon I applied to Varus, the then Ge-'neral, with an accuſation againſt Arminius, who 'from me had raviſhed my daughter, and with you 'violated the faith of leagues. But growing im-'patient with the ſlowneſs and inactivity of Varus, 'and well apprized how little ſecurity was to be 'hoped from the laws, I preſſed him to ſeize my-'ſelf, and Arminius, and his accomplices; witneſs 'that fatal night, to me I wiſh it had been the 'laſt! More to be lamented than defended are the 'ſad events which followed. I moreover caſt Ar-'minius into irons, and was myſelf caſt into irons 'by his faction; and as ſoon as to you, Cæſar, I 'could apply, you ſee I prefer old engagements to 'preſent violence; tranquillity to combuſtions; 'with no view of my own to intereſt or reward, 'but to baniſh from me the imputation of perfi-'dioufneſs. For the German nation too, I would 'thus become a mediator, if peradventure they 'will chuſe rather to repent than be deſtroyed: 'for my ſon I entreat you, have mercy upon his 'youth, pardon his error. That my daughter is 'your priſoner by force, I own: in your own

'breaſt it wholly lies, under which character you 'will treat her, whether as one who has conceived 'by Arminius, or as one by me begotten." The anſwer of Germanicus was gracious: he promiſed indemnity to his children and kindred, and to himſelf a ſafe retreat in one of the old provinces; then returned with his army, and, by the direction of Tiberius, received the title of *Imperator*. The wife of Arminius brought forth a male child, and the boy was brought up at Ravenna. His unhappy conflicts, afterwards with the contumelious inſults of fortune, will be remembered in their place.

The deſertion of Segeſtus being divulged, with his gracious reception from Germanicus, affected his countrymen variouſly, with hope or anguiſh, as they were prone or averſe to the war. Naturally violent was the ſpirit of Arminius, and now, by the captivity of his wife, and by the fate of his child doomed to bondage though yet unborn, enraged even to diſtraction: he flew about amongſt the Cheruſcans, calling them to arms; to arm againſt Segeſtes, to arm againſt Germanicus: invectives followed his fury: 'A bleſſed father this Se-'geſtes, he cried! a mighty General, this Germa-'nicus! invincible warriors theſe Romans! ſo many 'troops have made priſoner of a woman. It is not 'thus that I conquer: Before me three Legions fell, 'and three Lieutenant-Generals. Open and ho-'nourable is my method of war, nor waged with big-'bellied women, but againſt men and arms; and 'treaſon is none of my weapons. Still to be ſeen are 'the Roman ſtandards in the German groves, there 'by me hung up, and devoted to our country Gods. 'Let Segeſtes live a ſlave in a conquered province; 'let him recover to his Son a foreign Prieſthood: 'With the German nations he can never obliterate 'his reproach, that through him they have ſeen, 'between the Elb and Rhine, rods and axes, and

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'the Roman Toga. To other Nations, who 'know not the Roman domination, executions and 'tributes are alſo unknown; evils which we too 'have caſt off, in ſpite of that Auguſtus now dead, 'and enrolled with the deities, in ſpite too of Ti-'berius his choſen ſucceſſor. Let us not, after 'this, dread a mutinous army, and a boy without 'experience, their commander: but, if you love 'your country, your kindred, your ancient liberty 'and laws, better than tyrants and new colonies, 'let Arminius rather lead you to liberty and glory, 'than the wicked Segeſtes to the infamy of bond-'age."

By theſe ſtimulations, not the Cheruſcans only were rouzed, but all the neighbouring nations; and into the confederacy was drawn Inguiomerus, paternal uncle to Arminius, a man long ſince in high credit with the Romans. Hence a new ſource of fear to Germanicus, who, to avoid the ſhock of their whole forces, and to divert the enemy, ſent Cæcina with forty Roman cohorts to the river Amiſia, through the territories of the Bructerians. Pedo the prefect led the cavalry by the confines of the Friſians. He himſelf embarked four Legions on the lake: and upon the bank of the ſaid river the whole body met, foot, horſe, and the fleet. The Chaucians, upon offering their aſſiſtance, were taken into the ſervice; but the Bructerians, ſetting fire to their effects and dwellings, were routed by Stertinius, by Germanicus diſpatched againſt them with a band lightly armed. As this party were engaged between ſlaughter and plunder, he found the Eagle of the nineteenth Legion, loſt in the overthrow of Varus. The army marched next to the furtheſt borders of the Bructerians, and the whole country between the rivers Amiſia and Luppia, was laid waſte. Not far hence lay the foreſt of Teutoburgium, and in it the bones of Varus and the Le-

gions, by report ſtill unburied. Hence Germanicus became inſpired with a tender paſſion to pay the laſt offices to the Legions and their leader: The like tenderneſs alſo affected the whole army. They were moved with compaſſion, ſome for the fate of their friends, others for that of their relations, here tragically ſlain: They were ſtruck with the doleful caſualties of war, and the ſad lot of humanity. Cæcina was ſent before to examine the gloomy receſſes of the foreſt, to lay bridges over the pools, and, upon the deceitful marſhes, cauſways. The army entered the doleful ſolitude, hideous to ſight, hideous to memory. Firſt they ſaw the camp of Varus, wide in circumference; and the three diſtinct ſpaces allotted to the different Eagles, ſhewed the number of the Legions. Further they beheld the ruinous entrenchment, and the ditch nigh choaked up; in it the remains of the army were ſuppoſed to have made their laſt effort, and in it to have found their graves. In the open fields lay their bones all bleached and bare, ſome ſeparate, ſome on heaps, juſt as they had happened to fall, flying for their lives, or reſiſting unto death. Here were ſcattered the limbs of horſes, there pieces of broken javelins; and the trunks of trees bore the ſkulls of men. In the adjacent groves were the ſavage altars; where the Barbarians had made a horrible immolation of the Tribunes and principal Centurions. Thoſe who ſurvived the ſlaughter, having eſcaped from captivity and the ſword, related the ſad particulars to the reſt: ‘ Here the com-
‘ manders of the Legions were ſlain: There we
‘ loſt the Eagles: Here Varus had his firſt wound;
‘ there he gave himſelf another, and periſhed by
‘ his own unhappy hand. In that place too ſtood
‘ the tribunal whence Arminius harangued: In
‘ this quarter, for the execution of his captives, he
‘ erected ſo many gibbets; in that ſuch a number

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'of funeral trenches were digged; and with theſe 'circumſtances of pride and deſpight he inſulted 'the enſigns and Eagles.'

Thus the Roman army buried the bones of the three Legions, ſix years after the ſlaughter; nor could any one diſtinguiſh, whether he gathered the particular remains of a ſtranger, or thoſe of a kinſman: But all conſidered the whole as their friends, the whole as their relations, with heightened reſentments againſt the foe, at once ſad and revengeful. In this pious office, ſo acceptable to the dead, Germanicus was a partner in the woe of the living; and upon the common tomb laid the firſt ſod: a proceeding not liked by Tiberius; whether it were that upon every action of Germanicus he put a perverſe meaning, or believed that the affecting ſpectacle of the unburied ſlain, would ſink the ſpirit of the army,, and heighten their terror of the enemy; as alſo that 'a General veſted, as Augur, 'with the intendency of religious rites, became 'defiled by aſſiſting at the ſolemnities of the dead.'

Arminius retiring into deſart and pathleſs places, was purſued by Germanicus; who, as ſoon as he reached him, commanded the horſe to advance, and diſlodge the enemy from the poſt they had poſſeſſed. Arminius, having directed his men to keep cloſe together, and draw near to the woods, wheeled ſuddenly about, and to thoſe whom he had hid in the foreſt, gave the ſignal to ruſh out. The Roman horſe, now engaged by a new army, became diſordered, and to their relief ſome cohorts were ſent, but likewiſe broken by the preſs of thoſe that fled; and great was the conſternation ſo many ways increaſed. The enemy too were already puſhing them into the moraſs; a place well known to the purſuers, as to the unapprized Romans it had proved pernicious, had not Germanicus drawn out the Legions in order of battle. Hence the enemy be-

came terrified, our men reaſſured, and both retired with equal loſs and advantage. Germanicus preſently after returning with the army to the river Amiſia, reconducted the Legions, as he had brought them, in the fleet. Part of the horſe were ordered to march along the ſea-ſhore to the Rhine. Cæcina, who led his own men, was warned, that though he was to return through known roads, yet he ſhould with all ſpeed paſs the cauſway, called *The Long Bridges*. It is a narrow track, between vaſt marſhes, and formerly raiſed by Lucius Domitius. The marſhes themſelves are of an uncertain ſoil, here full of mud, there of heavy ſticking clay, or traverſed with various currents. Round about are woods which riſe gently from the plain, and were already filled with ſoldiers by Arminius, who, by ſhorter ways, and a running march, had arrived there before our men, who were loaded with arms and baggage. Cæcina, who was perplexed how at once to repair the cauſway decayed by time, and to repulſe the foe, reſolved at laſt to encamp in the place, that whilſt ſome were employed in the work, others might maintain the fight.

The Barbarians ſtrove violently to break our ſtation, and to fall upon the entrenchers; haraſſed our men, aſſaulted the works, changed their attacks, and puſhed every-where. With the ſhouts of the aſſailants the cries of the workmen were confuſedly mixed; and all things equally combined to diſtreſs the Romans; the place deep with ouze ſinking under thoſe who ſtood, ſlippery to ſuch as advanced, their armour heavy, the waters deep, nor in them could they launch their javelins. The Cheruſcans, on the contrary, were inured to encounters in the bogs; their perſons tall, their ſpears long, ſuch as could wound at a diſtance. At laſt the Legions, already yielding, were by night redeemed from an

unequal combat; but night interrupted not the activity of the Germans, become by ſucceſs indefatigable. Without refreſhing themſelves with ſleep, they diverted all the courſes of the ſprings which riſe in the neighbouring mountains, and turned them into the plains; thus the Roman camp was flooded, the work, as far as they had carried it, overturned, and the labour of the poor ſoldiers renewed and doubled. To Cæcina this year proved the fortieth of his ſuſtaining as officer or ſoldier the functions of arms; a man in all the viciſſitudes of war, proſperous or diſaſtrous, well experienced, and thence undaunted. Weighing therefore with himſelf all probable events and expedients, he could deviſe no other than that of reſtraining the enemy to the woods, till he had ſent forward the wounded men and baggage; for from the mountains to the marſhes there ſtretched a plain, fit only to hold a little army. To this purpoſe the Legions were thus appointed; the fifth had the right wing, and the one and twentieth the left; the firſt led the van; the twentieth defended the rear.

A reſtleſs night it was to both armies, but in different ways: the Barbarians feaſted and carouſed; and with ſongs of triumph, or with horrid and threatning cries, filled all the plain and echoing woods. Amongſt the Romans were feeble fires, ſad ſilence, or broken words; they leaned drooping here and there againſt the pales, or wandered diſconſolately about the tents, like men without ſleep, but not quite awake. A frightful dream too terrified the General; he thought he heard and ſaw Quinctilius Varus, riſing out of the marſh, all beſmeared with blood, ſtretching forth his hand, and calling upon him; but that he rejected the call, and puſhed him away. At break of day, the Legions, poſted on the wings, through contumacy or affright, deſerted their ſtations, and took ſudden poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of a field beyond the bogs; neither did Arminius fall ſtraight upon them, however open they lay to his aſſault: but, when he perceived the baggage ſet faſt in mire and ditches; the ſoldiers about it diſorderly and embaraſſed; the ranks and enſigns in confuſion; and, as uſual in a time of diſtreſs, every one in haſte to ſave himſelf, but ſlow to obey his officer; he then commanded his Germans to break in: "Behold, he vehemently cried, "behold again Varus and his Legions, ſubdued by "the ſame fate!" Thus he cried, and at the ſame time, with a ſelect body, broke quite through our forces; and chiefly againſt the horſe directed his havock: ſo that the ground becoming ſlippery, by their blood and the ſlime of the marſh, their feet flew from them, and they caſt their riders; then galloping and ſtumbling amongſt the ranks, they overthrew all they met, and trod to death all they overthrew. The greateſt difficulty was, to maintain the Eagles; a ſtorm of darts made it impoſſible to advance them, and the rotten ground impoſſible to fix them. Cæcina, while he ſuſtained the fight, had his horſe ſhot, and having fallen, was nigh taken; but the firſt Legion ſaved him. Our relief came from the greedineſs of the enemy, who ceaſed ſlaying, to ſeize the ſpoil. Hence the Legions had reſpite to ſtruggle into the fair field, and firm ground: nor was here an end to their miſeries; a paliſade was to be raiſed, an entrenchment digged; their inſtruments too, for throwing up and carrying earth, and their tools for cutting turf, were almoſt all loſt; no tents for the ſoldiers; no remedies for the wounded; and their food all defiled with mire or blood: as they ſhared it in ſadneſs amongſt them, they lamented that mournful night, they lamented the approaching day, to ſo many thouſand men the laſt.

It happened that a horſe, which had broke his collar, as he ſtrayed about, became frightened with noiſe, and ran over ſome that were in his way: this raiſed ſuch a conſternation in the camp, from a perſuaſion that the Germans in a body had forced an entrance, that all ruſhed to the gates, eſpecially to the poſtern, as the furtheſt from the foe, and ſafer for flight. Cæcina, having found the vanity of their dread, but unable to ſtop them, either by his authority, or by his prayers, or indeed by force, flung himſelf, at laſt, croſs the gate. This prevailed; their awe and tenderneſs of their General, reſtrained them from running over his body; and the Tribunes and Centurions ſatisfied them the while that it was a falſe alarm.

Then, calling them together, and deſiring them to hear him with ſilence, he minded them of their difficulties, and how to conquer them: "that for "their lives they muſt be indebted to their arms, "but force was to be tempered with art; they muſt "therefore keep cloſe within their camp, till the "enemy, in hopes of taking it by ſtorm advanced; then make a ſudden ſally on every ſide; "and by this puſh they ſhould break through the "enemy, and reach the Rhine; but, if they fled, "more foreſts remained to be traverſed, deeper "marſhes to be paſſed, and the cruelty of a purſuing foe to be ſuſtained." He laid before them the motives and fruits of victory, public rewards and glory, with every tender domeſtic conſideration, as well as thoſe of military exploits and praiſe. Of their dangers and ſufferings he ſaid nothing. He next diſtributed horſes, firſt his own, then thoſe of the Tribunes and leaders of the Legions, to the braveſt ſoldiers impartially; that thus mounted they might begin the charge, followed by the foot.

Amongſt the Germans, there was not leſs agitation, from hopes of victory, greedineſs of ſpoil, and

and the oppoſite counſels of their leaders. Arminius propoſed, "to let the Romans march off, and "to beſet them in their march, when engaged in "bogs and faſtneſſes." The advice of Inguiomerus was fiercer, and thence more applauded by the Barbarians: he declared "for forcing the camp; for "that the victory would be quick, there would be "more captives, and intire plunder." As ſoon therefore as it was light, they ruſhed out upon the camp, caſt hurdles into the ditch, attacked and grappled the paliſade: Upon it, few ſoldiers appeared, and theſe ſeemed frozen with fear: but as the enemy in ſwarms were climbing the ramparts, the ſignal was given to the cohorts; the cornets and trumpets ſounded, and inſtantly, with ſhouts and impetuoſity, they iſſued out, and begirt the aſſailants; "Here are no thickets, they ſcornfully cried; "no bogs; but an equal field, and impartial Gods." The enemy, who imagined few Romans remaining, fewer arms, and an eaſy conqueſt, were ſtruck with the ſounding trumpets, with the glittering armour; and every object of terror appeared double to them who expected none. They fell like men who, as they are void of moderation in proſperity, are alſo deſtitute of conduct in diſtreſs. Arminius forſook the fight unhurt; Inguiomerus grievouſly wounded: their men were ſlaughtered as long as day and rage laſted. In the evening the Legions returned, in the ſame want of proviſions, and with more wounds: but in victory they found all things, health, vigour, and abundance.

In the mean time, a report had flown, that the Roman forces were routed, and an army of Germans upon full march, to invade Gaul: ſo that under the terror of this news there were thoſe, whoſe cowardice would have emboldened them to have demoliſhed the bridge upon the Rhine, had not Agrippina reſtrained them from that infamous attempt.

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In truth, ſuch was the undaunted ſpirit of the woman, that at this time ſhe performed all the duties of a General, relieved the neceſſitous ſoldiers, upon the wounded beſtowed medicines, and upon others cloaths. Caius Plinius, the writer of the German Wars, relates, that ſhe ſtood at the end of the bridge, as the Legions returned, and accoſted them with thanks and praiſes; a behaviour which ſunk deep into the ſpirit of Tiberius; "for that all "this officiouſneſs of hers, he thought, could not "be upright; nor that it was againſt foreigners "only ſhe engaged the army: to the direction of "the Generals nothing was now left, when a "woman reviewed the companies, attended the "Eagles, and to the men diſtributed largeſſes, as "if before ſhe had ſhewn but ſmall tokens of ambitious deſigns, in carrying her child (the ſon of "the General) in a ſoldier's coat about the camp, "with the title of Cæſar Caligula. Already in "greater credit with the army was Agrippina than "the leaders of the Legions, in greater than their "Generals, and a woman had ſuppreſſed ſedition, "which the authority of the Emperor was not "able to reſtrain." Theſe jealouſies were inflamed, and more were added by Sejanus; one who was well ſkilled in the temper of Tiberius, and purpoſely furniſhed him with ſources of hatred, to lie hid in his heart, and be diſcharged with increaſe hereafter.

Germanicus, in order to lighten the ſhips in which he had embarked his men, and fit their burden to the ebbs and ſhallows, delivered the ſecond and fourteenth Legions to Publius Vitellius, to lead them by land. Vitellius, at firſt, had an eaſy march on dry ground, or ground moderately overflowed by the tide; when ſuddenly the fury of the north wind ſwelling the ocean (a conſtant effect of the equinox) the Legions were ſurrounded and toſſed with the tide,

tide, and the land was all on flood; the ſea, the ſhore, the fields, had the ſame tempeſtuous face; no diſtinction of depths from ſhallows; none of firm from deceitful footing; they were overturned by the billows; ſwallowed down by the eddies; and horſes, baggage, and drowned men encountered each other, and floated together. The ſeveral companies were mixed at random by the waves; they waded now breaſt-high; now up to their chin; and as the ground failed them, they fell, ſome never more to riſe. The cries and mutual encouragements availed them nothing againſt the prevailing and inexorable waves; no difference between the coward and the brave, the wiſe and the fooliſh; none between circumſpection and chance; but all were equally involved in the invincible violence of the flood. Vitellius, at length, ſtruggling into an eminence, drew the Legions thither, where they paſſed the cold night without fire, and deſtitute of every convenience; moſt of them naked, or lamed; not leſs miſerable than men incloſed by an enemy: for even to ſuch remained the conſolation of an honourable death; but here was deſtruction, every way void of glory. The land returned with the day, and they marched to the river Vidrus, whither Germanicus had gone with the fleet. There the two Legions were again embarked, when fame had given them for drowned; nor was their eſcape believed, till Germanicus and the army were ſeen to return.

Stertinius, who in the mean while had been ſent before to receive Segimerus, the brother of Segeſtes (a Prince willing to ſurrender himſelf) brought him and his ſon to the city of the Ubians: both were pardoned; the father freely, the ſon with more difficulty; becauſe he was ſaid to have inſulted the corps of Varus. For the reſt, Spain, Italy, and both the Gauls ſtrove with emulation to ſupply the loſſes of the army; and offered arms, horſes, money,

according

according as each abounded. Germanicus applauded their zeal; but accepted only the horſes and arms, for the ſervice of the war: with his own money he relieved the neceſſities of the ſoldiers; and to ſoften alſo by his kindneſs the memory of the late havock, he viſited the wounded, extolled the exploits of particulars, viewed their wounds; with hopes encouraged ſome; with a ſenſe of glory animated others; and by affability and tenderneſs confirmed them all in devotion to himſelf, and to his fortune in war.

The ornaments of triumph were this year decreed to Aulus Cæcina, Lucius Apronius, and Caius Silius, for their ſervices under Germanicus. The title of *Father of his Country*, ſo often offered by the People to Tiberius, was rejected by him: nor would he permit ſwearing upon his acts, though the ſame was voted by the Senate. Againſt it he urged 'the inſtability of all mortal things; and that the 'higher he was raiſed, the more ſlippery he ſtood.' but for all this oſtentation of a popular ſpirit, he acquired not the reputation of poſſeſſing it. For he had revived the law concerning violated majeſty; a law which in the days of our anceſtors, had indeed the ſame name, but implied different arraignments and crimes, namely thoſe againſt the State; as when an army was betrayed abroad, when ſeditions were raiſed at home; in ſhort, when the public was faithleſly adminiſtred, and the majeſty of the Roman people was debaſed. Theſe were actions, and actions were puniſhed, but words were free. Auguſtus was the firſt who brought libels under the penalties of this wreſted law, incenſed as he was by the inſolence of Caſſius Severus, who had in his writings wantonly defamed men and ladies of illuſtrious quality. Tiberius too, afterwards, when Pompeius Macer, the Prætor, conſulted him, 'whe-'ther proceſs ſhould be granted upon this law?' anſwered,

anſwered, 'that the laws muſt be executed.' He alſo was exaſperated by ſatirical verſes written by unknown authors, and diſperſed; expoſing his cruelty, his pride, and his mind unnaturally alienated from his mother.

It will be worth while to relate here the pretended crimes charged upon Falanius and Rubrius, two Roman knights of ſmall fortunes; that hence may be ſeen from what beginnings, and by how much dark art of Tiberius, this grievous miſchief crept in; how it was again reſtrained [a]; how at laſt it blazed out and conſumed all things [b]. To Falanius was objected by his accuſers, that 'amongſt 'the adorers of Auguſtus, who went in fraternities 'from houſe to houſe, he had admitted one Caſſius, 'a mimic and proſtitute; and having ſold his gar-'dens, had likewiſe with them ſold the ſtatue of 'Auguſtus.' The crime imputed to Rubrius was, 'that he had ſworn falſly by the divinity of Au-'guſtus.' When theſe accuſations were known to Tiberius, he wrote to the Conſuls, 'that Heaven 'was not therefore decreed to his father, that the 'worſhip of him might be a ſnare to the citizens 'of Rome; that Caſſius the player was wont to 'aſſiſt with others of his profeſſion at the interludes 'conſecrated by his mother to the memory of Au-'guſtus: neither did it affect religion, that his effi-'gies, like other images of the Gods, was com-'prehended in the ſale of houſes and gardens. As 'to the falſe ſwearing by his name, it was to be 'deemed the ſame as if Rubrius had profaned the 'name of Jupiter; but to the Gods belonged the 'avenging of injuries done to the Gods.'

Not long after, Granius Marcellus, Prætor of Bythinia, was charged with high treaſon by his

[a] Under that excellent Prince Titus.
[b] Under that terrible tyrant Domitian.

own

own Quæſtor Cepio Criſpinus; Romanus Hiſpo, the pleader, ſupporting the charge. This Cepio began a courſe of life, which, through the miſeries of the times and the bold wickedneſs of men, became afterwards famous. At firſt, needy and obſcure, but of buſy ſpirit, he made court to the cruelty of the prince by occult informations; and preſently, as an open accuſer, grew terrible to every diſtinguiſhed Roman. This procured him credit with one, hatred from all, and made a precedent, to be followed by others, who from poverty became rich; from being contemned, dreadful; and in the deſtruction which they brought upon others, found at laſt their own. He accuſed Marcellus of 'malignant words concerning Tiberius;" an inevitable crime! when the accuſer, collecting all the moſt deteſtable parts of the Prince's character, alledged them as the expreſſions of the accuſed: for, becauſe they were true, they were believed to have been ſpoken. To this Hiſpo added, 'that the 'ſtatue of Marcellus was by him placed higher 'than thoſe of the Cæſars; and that, having cut 'off the head of Auguſtus, he had in the room of 'it ſet the head of Tiberius.' This enraged him ſo, that breaking ſilence, he cried, 'he would 'himſelf, in this cauſe, give his vote explicitly, 'and under the tye of an oath.' By this he meant to force the aſſent of the reſt of the Senate. There remained even then ſome faint traces of expiring liberty. Hence Cneius Piſo aſked him; 'In what 'place, Cæſar, will you chuſe to give your opi-'nion? If firſt, I ſhall have your example to fol-'low: if laſt, I fear I may ignorantly diſſent from 'you.' The words pierced him, but he bore them, the rather as he was aſhamed of his unwary tranſport; and he ſuffered the accuſed to be acquitted of high treaſon. To try him for the public money, was referred to the proper judges.

Nor

Nor ſufficed it Tiberius to aſſiſt in the deliberations of the Senate only: he likewiſe ſate in the ſeats of juſtice; but always on one ſide, becauſe he would not diſpoſſeſs the Prætor of his chair; and by his preſence there, many ordinances were eſtabliſhed againſt the intrigues and ſolicitations of the grandees. But while private juſtice was thus promoted, public liberty was likewiſe overthrown. About this time Pius Aurelius the Senator, whoſe houſe, yielding to the preſſure of the public road and aqueducts, had fallen, complained to the Senate, and prayed relief; a ſuit oppoſed by the Prætors who managed the treaſury: but he was relieved by Tiberius, who ordered him the price of his houſe; for he was fond of being liberal upon honeſt occaſions; a virtue which he long retained, even after he had utterly abandoned all other virtues. Upon Propertius Celer, once Prætor, but now deſiring leave to reſign the dignity of Senator, as a burden to his poverty, he beſtowed a thouſand great ſeſterces *, upon ample information that Celer's neceſſities were derived from his father. Others, who attempted the ſame thing, he ordered to lay their condition before the Senate; and from an affectation of ſeverity, was thus auſtere, even where he acted with uprightneſs. Hence the reſt preferred poverty and ſilence to begging and relief.

The ſame year the Tiber, being ſwelled with continual rains, overflowed the level parts of the city; and the common deſtruction of men and houſes followed the returning flood. Hence Aſinius Gallus moved, 'that the Sibylline Books might be 'conſulted.' Tiberius oppoſed it, equally ſmothering all inquiries whatſoever, whether into matters human or divine. To Ateius Capito, however, and Lucius Arruntius, was committed the

* About five and twenty thouſand Crowns.

care

care of reſtraining the river within its banks. The provinces of Achaia and Macedon, praying relief from their public burdens, were for the preſent diſcharged of their proconſular government, and ſubjected to the Emperor's Lieutenants. In the entertainment of gladiators at Rome, Druſus preſided: it was exhibited in the name of Germanicus, and his own; and at it he manifeſted too much luſt of blood, even of the blood of ſlaves: a quality terrible to the populace; and hence his father was ſaid to have reproved him. His own abſence from theſe ſhews, was variouſly conſtrued; by ſome aſcribed to his impatience of a crowd; by others to his reſerved and ſolitary genius, and his fear of an unequal compariſon with Auguſtus, who was wont to be a chearful ſpectator there. But, that he thus purpoſely furniſhed matter for expoſing the cruelty of his ſon there, and for raiſing him popular hate, is what I would not believe; though this too was aſſerted.

The diſſenſions of the theatre, begun laſt year, broke out now more violently, with the ſlaughter of ſeveral, not of the people only, but of the ſoldiers, with that of a Centurion: nay, a Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort was wounded, whilſt they were ſecuring the magiſtrates from inſults, and quelling the licentiouſneſs of the rabble. This riot was canvaſſed in the Senate, and votes were paſſing for impowering the Prætors to whip the players. Haterius Agrippa, Tribune of the People, oppoſed it; and was ſharply reprimanded by a ſpeech of Aſinius Gallus. Tiberius was ſilent, and to the Senate allowed theſe empty apparitions of liberty. The oppoſition, however, prevailed, in reverence to the authority of Auguſtus, who, upon a certain occaſion, had given his judgment, 'that players 'were exempt from ſtripes:' nor would Tiberius aſſume to violate any words of his. To limit the wages of players, and to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs

of

of their partizans, many decrees were made: the moſt remarkable were, 'that no Senator ſhould enter 'the houſe of a Pantomime; no Roman Knight 'attend them abroad; they ſhould ſhew no where 'but in the theatre; and the Prætors ſhould have 'power to puniſh with exile any inſolence in the 'ſpectators.'

The Spaniards were, upon their petition, permitted to build a temple to Auguſtus, in the colony of Terragon; an example for all the provinces to follow. In anſwer to the People, who prayed to be relieved from the *Centeſima*, a tax of one in the hundred, eſtabliſhed at the end of the civil wars, upon all vendible commodities; Tiberius by an edict declared, 'that upon this tax depended the 'fund for maintaining the army: Nor even thus 'was the Commonwealth equal to the expence, if 'the Veterans were diſmiſſed before their twentieth 'year.' So that the conceſſions made them during the late ſedition, to diſcharge them finally at the end of ſixteen years, as they were made through neceſſity, were for the future aboliſhed.

It was next propoſed to the Senate, by Arruntius and Ateius, whether, in order to reſtrain the overflowing of the Tiber, the channels of the ſeveral rivers and lakes by which it was ſwelled, muſt not be diverted? Upon this queſtion the deputies of ſeveral cities and colonies were heard. The Florentines beſought, 'that the bed of the Clanis might 'not be turned into their river Arnus; for that the 'ſame would prove their utter ruin." The like plea was urged by the Interamnates; 'ſince the 'moſt fruitful plains in Italy would be loſt, if, ac-'cording to the project, the Nar, branched out 'into rivulets, overflowed them." Nor were the Reatinians leſs earneſt againſt ſtopping the outlets of the lake Velinus into the Nar; 'otherwiſe, they 'ſaid, it would break over its banks, and ſtagnate

all

'all the adjacent country: the direction of nature 'was beſt in all natural things: it was ſhe that had 'appointed to rivers their courſes and diſcharges, 'and ſet them their limits as well as their ſources. 'Regard too was to be paid to the religion of our 'Latin allies, who, eſteeming the rivers of their 'country ſacred, had to them dedicated prieſts, 'and altars, and groves. Nay, the Tiber him-'ſelf, when bereft of his auxiliary ſtreams, would 'flow with diminiſhed grandeur.' Now, whether it were that the prayers of the colonies, or the difficulty of the work, or the influence of ſuperſtition prevailed; it is certain, the opinion of Piſo was followed, that nothing ſhould be altered.

To Poppeus Sabinus was continued his province of Mœſia; and to it was added that of Achaia and Macedon. This too was part of the politics of Tiberius, to prolong governments, and maintain the ſame men in the ſame armies, or civil employments, for the moſt part, to the end of their lives; with what view, is not agreed. Some think, 'that 'from an impatience of returning cares, he was 'for making, whatever he once liked, perpetual." Others, 'that from the malignity of his invidious 'nature, he regretted the preferring of many.' There are ſome who believe, 'that as he had a 'crafty penetrating ſpirit, ſo he had an underſtand-'ing ever irreſolute and perplexed.' So much is certain, that he never courted any eminent virtue, yet hated vice: from the beſt men he dreaded danger to himſelf; and diſgrace to the public from the worſt. This heſitation maſtered him ſo much at laſt, that he committed foreign governments to ſome, whom he meant never to ſuffer to leave Rome.

Concerning the management of conſular elections, either then, or afterwards, under Tiberius, I can affirm ſcarce any thing: ſuch is the variance about

it, not only amongſt hiſtorians, but even in his own ſpeeches. Sometimes, not naming the candidates, he deſcribed them by their family, by their life and manners, and by the number of their campaigns; ſo as it might be apparent whom he meant. Again, avoiding even to deſcribe them, he exhorted the candidates, not to diſturb the election by their intrigues, and promiſed himſelf to take care of their intereſts. But chiefly, he uſed to declare, 'that to 'him none had ſignified their pretenſions, but ſuch 'whoſe names he had delivered to the Conſuls; 'others too were at liberty to offer the like preten-'ſions, if they truſted to the favour of the Senate, 'or their own merits.' Specious words! but intirely empty, or full of fraud; and, by how much they were covered with the greater guiſe of liberty, by ſo much threatning a more haſty and devouring bondage.

THE

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK II.

The SUMMARY.

Commotions in the East. Venones *King of the Parthians, his expulsion by* Artabanus, *and flight to Armenia, where he is chosen King, but dethroned by* Silanus *at the motion of* Artabanus. Tiberius *designs to send* Germanicus *to the East, under feigned pretences. The exploits of the latter in Germany; he builds a fleet, defeats and ravages many nations there; and routs* Arminius *in a great battle. The misfortune of his fleet in a tempest. The remarkable accusation, trial, and violent death of* Libo Drusus, *charged with designs against the state. The poverty of* M. Hortalus, *grandson of the famous orator* Hortensius; *he applies for relief to the Senate;* Tiberius *opposes him, but complies with the inclination of the Fathers to assist him. A counterfeit* Agrippa Postumus *raises great alarms, but is detected to have been one of his slaves, and put to death. The*

triumph of Germanicus *over ſeveral nations in Germany. The ſtory and death of King* Archelaus: *His Kingdom reduced into a Roman province. The contumacious behaviour of* Cneius Piſo *and his wife* Plancina *to* Germanicus *in the Eaſt, ſuppoſed to be encouraged by* Tiberius *and his mother.* Druſus, *the Emperor's ſon, ſent into Illyricum, and why. A great battle between* Arminius *and* Maroboduus, *two German Chiefs: The former conquers. Twelve noble cities in Aſia deſtroyed by an earthquake.* Tacfarinas, *firſt a common ſoldier, then a robber, raiſes a war in Africa. The ſucceſs of* Camillus, *the Proconſul, againſt him.* Germanicus *enters Armenia, and eſtabliſhes* Zeno *King there.* Druſus *encourages diſſenſions amongſt the German nations.* Maroboduus, *exterminated by* Catualda, *flies into Italy, and continues there.* Catualda *ſuffers the like fate. War between two Kings of Thrace compoſed by ſeizing the aggreſſor.* Germanicus *viſits Egypt, and views the antiquities there; returns to Aſia, is inſulted by* Piſo, *ſickens and dies: His amiable character: Suſpicions about the cauſe of his death.* Piſo *tries to gain the ſupreme command; is ſucceſsfully oppoſed by the friends of* Germanicus, *and retires. Numerous honours decreed at Rome to* Germanicus. *Laws to reſtrain the lubricity of women. A new Veſtal Virgin choſen in the place of* Occia *deceaſed.* Arminius *fraudulently ſlain in Germany. His eminent character.*

DURING the conſulſhip of Siſenna Statilius Taurus, and Lucius Libo, the Kingdoms and Roman provinces of the eaſt, were involved in war, begun by the Parthians, who having ſought and accepted a King from Rome, did afterwards, though he was of the race of the Arſacides, contemn him as a foreigner. This was Venones, who had been given as an hoſtage

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to Auguſtus by Phrahates. For Phrahates, though he had defeated the Roman captains and armies, yet had courted Auguſtus with all the reverence of a dependent, and ſent him, to bind their friendſhip, part of his offspring; not ſo much through fear of the Romans, as diſtruſting the ill faith of the Parthians.

After the death of Phrahates, and the ſucceeding Kings, ambaſſadors from the chief men of Parthia arrived at Rome, to call home Venones his eldeſt ſon, in order to end their inteſtine ſlaughters. Tiberius found his own grandeur and glory in this embaſſy, and diſmiſſed him with great pomp and preſents. The Barbarians too received him with rapture and exultation; a ſpirit which commonly animates the people, where their governors are yet new and untried. But ſhame ſoon ſucceeded; ſhame 'for the degeneracy of the Parthians, to 'have thus ſent to another world for a King, one 'debauched with the manners and maxims of their 'enemies. The imperial throne of the Arſacides, 'they ſaid, was now deemed and given as a Roman 'province. Where was the glory of thoſe brave 'Parthians who ſlew Craſſus, of thoſe who extir-'minated Mark Anthony; if they were reduced ſo 'low as to receive for the Lord of Parthia a ſlave 'of Cæſar's, inured ſo many years to foreign bon-'dage?' His own behaviour inflamed their diſdain: he abandoned the cuſtoms of his anceſtors; was ſeldom in the chace; took ſmall delight in horſes, travelled luxurioufly through their towns in a litter, and deſpiſed the Parthians feaſts. They ridiculed his Greek attendants, and the mean care of ſealing up his domeſtic moveables with his ſignet. But his eaſineſs of acceſs, his flowing courteſy (virtues unknown to the Parthians) were to them ſo many new vices; and every part of his manners, the

laudable and the bad, were ſubject to equal hatred, becauſe foreign from their own.

They therefore ſent for Artabanus, of the blood of the Arſacides, bred amongſt the Dahans. In the firſt engagement he was routed, but repaired his forces and gained the Kingdom. The vanquiſhed Venones found a retreat in Armenia, a vacant throne, and a people wavering between the neighbouring powers of Parthia and of Rome: from us they were alienated by the fraud and iniquity of Mark Anthony, who having by ſhews and profeſſions of friendſhip, enſnared into his power Artavaſdes, King of the Armenians, loaded him with chains, and at laſt put him to death. Artaxias, his ſon, for his father's ſake, hating us, defended himſelf and his Kingdom by the protection and forces of the Arſacides. Artaxias being ſlain by a conſpiracy of his kindred, Tigranes was by Auguſtus ſet over the Armenians, and by Tiberius Nero put in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. But neither was the reign of Tigranes laſting, nor that of his children, however aſſociated together, according to the mode and politics of the Eaſt, by the double ties of marriage and government. Artavaſdes was next eſtabliſhed, by the appointment of Auguſtus, and then expelled; but at great expence of Roman blood.

Caius Cæſar was then choſen to ſettle Armenia. By him Ariobarzanes, by deſcent a Mede, was, for his graceful perſon and eminent endowments, placed over the Armenians, with their own conſent. Ariobarzanes being killed by an accident, they would not bear the rule of his children, but tried the government of a woman, (her name Erato) and quickly expulſed her. After this, unſettled and wavering, rather exempt from tyranny, than poſſeſſed of liberty, they received the fugitive Venones

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for their King: but anon, when he ſaw himſelf threatened by Artabanus, ſmall reliance on the Armenians, and no protection from the Romans without a war with the Parthians, he accepted the offer of Creticus Silanus, Governor of Syria, who invited him thither; but when he came, ſet a guard upon him; leaving him ſtill the name and luxury of royalty. What attempts Venones made to eſcape from this mock-majeſty, we will relate in its place.

The commotions in the Eaſt happened not ungratefully to Tiberius, ſince thence he had a colour for ſeparating Germanicus from his old and faithful Legions, for ſetting him over ſtrange provinces, and expoſing him at once to caſual perils and the efforts of fraud. But he, the more ardent he found the affections of the ſoldiers, and the greater the hatred of his uncle, ſo much the more intent upon a deciſive victory, weighed with himſelf all the methods of that war, with all the diſaſters and ſucceſſes which had befallen him in it to this his third year. He remember'd, 'that the 'Germans were ever routed in a fair battle, and 'upon equal ground; that woods and boggs, ſhort 'ſummers, and early winters, were their chief 'reſources; that his own men ſuffered not ſo much 'from their wounds, as from tedious marches, and 'the loſs of their arms. The Gauls were weary 'of furniſhing horſes; long and cumberſom was 'his train of baggage, eaſily ſurprized, and with 'difficulty defended. But, if he entered the coun-'try by ſea, the invaſion would be eaſy, and the 'enemy unapprized: beſides, the war would be 'earlier begun; the Legions and proviſions would 'be carried together, and the cavalry brought with 'ſafety, through the mouths and channels of the 'rivers, into the heart of Germany.'

On that method therefore he fixed. Whilſt Publius Vitellius and Publius Cantius were ſent to collect the tribute of the Gauls; Silius, Anteius, and Cæcina, had the direction of building the fleet. A thouſand veſſels were thought ſufficient, and with diſpatch finiſhed: ſome were ſhort, ſharp at both ends, and wide in the middle, the eaſier to endure the agitations of the waves; ſome had flat bottoms, that without damage they might bear to run aground: ſeveral had helms at each end, that by ſuddenly turning the oars only, they might work either way. Many were arched over, for carrying the engines of war. They were fitted for holding horſes and proviſions, to fly with ſails, to run with oars; and the ſpirit and alacrity of the ſoldiers heightened the ſhew and terror of the fleet. They were to meet at the Iſle of Batavia, which was choſen for its eaſy landing, for its convenience to receive the forces, and thence to tranſport them to the war. For the Rhine flowing in one continual channel, or only broken by ſmall iſlands, is, at the extremity of Batavia, divided, as it were, into two rivers; one running ſtill through Germany, and retaining the ſame name and violent current, till it mixes with the ocean; the other waſhing the Gallic ſhore, with a broader and more gentle ſtream, is by the inhabitants called by another name, the Wahal, which it ſoon after changes for that of the Meuſe, by whoſe immenſe mouth it is diſcharged into the ſame ocean.

While the fleet ſailed, Germanicus commanded Silius his Lieutenant, with a flying band to invade the Cattians; and he himſelf, upon hearing that the fort upon the river Luppia was beſieged, led ſix Legions thither. But the ſudden rains prevented Silius from doing more than taking ſome ſmall plunder, with the wife and daughter of Arpus, Prince

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of the Cattians; nor did the beſiegers ſtay to fight Germanicus, but upon the report of his approach, ſtole off, and diſperſed. As they had, however, thrown down the common tomb lately raiſed over the Varian Legions, and the old altar erected to Druſus; he reſtored the altar, and performed in perſon with the Legions, the funeral ceremony of running courſes to the honour of his father. To replace the tomb was not thought fit; but, all the ſpace between fort Aliſo and the Rhine, he fortified with a new barrier.

The fleet was now arrived; the proviſions were ſent forward; ſhips were aſſigned to the Legions and the allies; and he entered the canal cut by Druſus, and called by his name. Here he invoked his father, 'to be propitious to his ſon attempting 'the ſame enterprizes, to inſpire him with the 'ſame counſels, and animate him by his example." Hence he ſailed ſucceſsfully through the lakes and the ocean to the river Amiſia. At the town of Amiſia the fleet was left, upon the left ſhore, and it was a fault that it ſailed no higher; for he landed the army on the right ſhore; ſo that in making bridges many days were conſumed. The horſe and the Legions paſſed over without danger, as it was yet ebb; but the returning tide diſordered the rear, eſpecially the Batavians, while they played with the waves, and ſhewed their dexterity in ſwimming; and ſome were drowned. Whilſt Germanicus was incamping, he was told of the revolt of the Angrivarians behind him; and thither he diſpatched a body of horſe and light foot, under Stertinius, who with fire and ſlaughter took vengeance on the perfidious revolters.

Between the Romans and the Cheruſcans flowed the river Viſurgis, and on the banks of it ſtood Arminius, with the other chiefs. He inquired whether Germanicus was come; and being anſwer-

ed that he was there, he prayed leave to ſpeak with his brother. This brother of his was in the army, his name Flavius, one remarkable for his laſting faith towards the Romans, and for the loſs of an eye in the war under Tiberius. This requeſt was granted. Flavius ſtepped forward, and was ſaluted by Arminius, who having removed his own attendants, deſired that our archers, ranged upon the oppoſite banks, might retire. When they were withdrawn, 'How came you (ſays he to his bro-'ther) by that deformity in your face?" The brother having informed him where, and in what fight, was next aſked, 'what reward he had received?' Flavius anſwered, 'Increaſe of pay, the chain, 'crown, and other military gifts;' all which Arminius treated with deriſion, as the vile wages of ſervitude.

Here began a warm conteſt. Flavius pleaded 'the grandeur of the Roman Empire, the power 'of the Emperor, the Roman clemency to ſub-'mitting nations; the heavy yoke of the van-'quiſhed; and that neither the wife, nor ſon of 'Arminius, was uſed like a captive.' Arminius to all this oppoſed 'the natural rights of their coun-'try, their ancient liberty; the domeſtic Gods of 'Germany; he urged the prayers of their com-'mon mother joined to his own, that he would 'not prefer the character of a deſerter, that of a 'betrayer of his family, his countrymen and kin-'dred, to the glory of being their commander.' By degrees they fell into reproaches; nor would the interpoſition of the river have reſtrained them from blows, had not Stertinius haſted to lay hold on Flavius, full of rage, and calling for his arms and his horſe. On the oppoſite ſide was ſeen Arminius, ſwelling with ferocity and threats, and denouncing battle. For, of what he ſaid, much was ſaid in Latin; ſince, as the General of his countrymen,

countrymen, he had ſerved in the Roman armies.

Next day, the German army ſtood embatteled beyond the Viſurgis. Germanicus, who thought it became not a General to endanger the Legions, till, for their paſſage and ſecurity, he had placed bridges and guards, made the horſe ford over. They were led by Stertinius, and by Æmilius Lieutenant-Colonel of a Legion: and theſe two officers croſſed the river in diſtant places, to divide the foe. Cariovalda, Captain of the Batavians, paſſed it where moſt rapid, and was by the Cheruſcans, who feigned flight, drawn into a plain ſurrounded with woods, whence they ruſhed out upon him and aſſaulted him on every ſide; overthrow thoſe who reſiſted, and preſſed vehemently upon thoſe who gave way. The diſtreſſed Batavians formed themſelves into a ring, but were again broken, partly by a cloſe aſſault, partly by diſtant ſhowers of darts. Cariovalda, having long ſuſtained the fury of the enemy, exhorted his men to draw up in platoons, and break through the prevailing hoſt; he himſelf forced his way into their center, and fell with his horſe under a ſhower of darts, and many of the principal Batavians round him: the reſt were ſaved by their own bravery, or reſcued by the cavalry under Stertinius and Æmilius.

Germanicus, having paſſed the Viſurgis, learnt from a deſerter, that Arminius had marked out the place of battle; that more nations had alſo joined him; that they rendevouſed in a wood ſacred to Hercules, and would attempt to ſtorm our camp by night. The deſerter was believed; the enemy's fires were diſcerned; and the ſcouts having advanced towards them, reported that they had heard the neighing of horſes, and the hollow murmur of a mighty and tumultuous hoſt. In this important conjuncture, upon the approach of a deciſive battle,

Germanicus thought it behoved him to learn the inclinations and ſpirit of the ſoldiers, and deliberated with himſelf how to be informed without fraud: 'for the reports of the Tribunes and Centurions 'uſed to be oftener pleaſing than true; his freed-'men had ſtill ſlaviſh ſouls, incapable of free ſpeech; 'friends were apt to flatter; there was the ſame 'uncertainty in an aſſembly, where the counſel 'propoſed by a few, was wont to be echoed by all. 'The minds of the ſoldiery were then beſt known 'when they were leaſt watched; when free and 'over their meals, they frankly diſcloſed their hopes 'and fears.'

In the beginning of night, he went out at the augural gate, with a ſingle attendant; himſelf diſguiſed with the ſkin of a wild beaſt hanging over his ſhoulders; and chuſing ſecret ways, he eſcaped the notice of the watch, entered the lanes of the camp, liſtened from tent to tent, and enjoyed the pleaſing diſplay of his own popularity and fame; as one was magnifying the imperial birth of his General; another his graceful perſon; all, his patience, condeſcenſion, and the equality of his ſoul in every temper, pleaſant or grave. They confeſſed the gratitude due to ſo much merit, and that in battle they ought to expreſs it, and to ſacrifice at the ſame time to glory and revenge, theſe perfidious Germans, who for ever violated ſtipulations and peace. In the mean time, one of the enemy who underſtood Latin, rode up to the paliſades, and, with a loud voice, offered in the name of Arminius, to every deſerter a wife and land, and, as long as the war laſted, an hundred ſeſterces a day. This contumely kindled the wrath of the Legions: 'Let 'day come, they cried, let battle be given. The 'ſoldiers would ſeize and not accept the lands of 'the Germans; take and not receive German 'wives; they, however, received the offer as an

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'omen of victory, and conſidered the money and 'women as their deſtined prey.' Near the third watch of the night, they approached, and inſulted the camp, but without ſtriking a blow, when they found the ramparts covered thick with cohorts, and no advantage given.

Germanicus had the ſame night a joyful dream: he thought he ſacrificed, and, in place of his own robe beſmeared with the ſacred blood, received one fairer from the hands of his grandmother Auguſta; ſo that elevated by the omen, and by equal encouragement from the auſpices, he called an aſſembly, where he opened his deliberations concerning the approaching battle, with all the advantages contributing to victory; 'That to the Roman ſoldiers, not only 'plains and dales, but, with due circumſpection, 'even woods and foreſts were commodious places 'for an engagement. The huge targets, the enormous ſpears of the Barbarians, could never be 'wielded amongſt thickets and trunks of trees, 'like Roman ſwords and javelins, and armour adjuſted to the ſhape and ſize of their bodies; ſo 'that with theſe tractable arms they might thicken 'their blows, and ſtrike with certainty at the naked 'faces of the enemy; ſince the Germans were 'neither furniſhed with head-piece nor coat of 'mail; nor were their bucklers bound with leather, 'or fortified with iron, but all bare baſket-work, 'or painted boards; and though their firſt ranks 'were armed with pikes, the reſt had only ſtakes 'burnt at the end, or ſhort and contemptible darts. 'For their perſons, as they were terrible to ſight, 'and violent in the onſet, ſo they were utterly impatient of wounds, unaffected with their own diſgrace, unconcerned for the honour of their General, whom they ever deſerted, and fled; in 'diſtreſs cowards, in proſperity deſpiſers of all divine, of all human laws. To conclude, if the

'army,

'army, after their fatigues at ſea, and their tedious 'marches by land, longed for an utter end of their 'labour; by this battle they might gain it. The Elb 'was now nearer than the Rhine; and if they 'would make him a conqueror in thoſe countries 'where his father and his uncle had conquered, the 'war was concluded.' The ardour of the ſoldiers followed the ſpeech of the General, and the ſignal for the onſet was given.

Neither did Arminius, or the other Chiefs, neglect to declare to their ſeveral bands, that 'theſe 'Romans were the cowardly fugitives of the Varian 'army, who, becauſe they could not endure to 'fight, had afterwards choſen to rebel: that ſome 'with backs deformed by wounds; ſome with limbs 'maimed by tempeſts; forſaken of hope, and the 'Gods againſt them, were once more preſenting 'their lives to their vengeful foes. Hitherto a fleet, 'and unfrequented ſeas, had been the reſources of 'their cowardice againſt an aſſaulting or a purſuing 'enemy; but now that they were to engage hand 'to hand, vain would be their relief from wind 'and oars after a defeat. The Germans needed 'only remember their rapine, cruelty, and pride; 'and that to themſelves nothing remained, but 'either to maintain their native liberty, or by death 'to prevent bondage.'

The enemy thus inflamed, and calling for battle, were led into a plain called Idiſtaviſus: it lies between the Viſurgis and the hills, and winds unequally along, as it is ſtreightened by the ſwellings of the mountains, or enlarged by the circuits of the river. Behind roſe a foreſt of high trees, thick of branches above, but clear of buſhes below. The army of Barbarians kept the plain, and the entrances of the foreſt; only the Cheruſcans ſat down upon the mountain, in order to pour down from thence upon the Romans, as ſoon as they became engaged

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in the fight. Our army marched thus; the auxiliary Gauls and Germans in front, after them the foot archers, next four Legions, then Germanicus with two Prætorian Cohorts, and the choice of the cavalry; then four Legions more, and the light foot with archers on horſeback, and the other troops of the allies; the men all careful to march in order of battle, and ready to engage as they marched.

As the impatient bands of Cheruſcans were now perceived deſcending fiercely from the hills, Germanicus commanded a body of the beſt horſe to charge them in the flank, and Stertinius with the reſt to wheel round to attack them in the rear, and promiſed to be ready to aſſiſt them in perſon. During this a joyful omen appeared; eight eagles were ſeen to fly toward the wood, and to enter it; a preſage of victory to the General! 'Advance, he cried, follow the Roman birds; 'follow the tutelar Deities of the Legions.' Inſtantly the foot charged the enemies front, and inſtantly the detached cavalry attacked their flank and rear. This double aſſault had a ſtrange event; the two diviſions of their army fled oppoſite ways; that in the woods ran to the plain; that in the plain ruſhed into the woods. The Cheruſcans between both, were driven from the hills, amongſt them Arminius remarkably brave, who with his hand, his voice, and diſtinguiſhed wounds, was ſtill ſuſtaining the fight. He had aſſaulted the archers, and would have broken through them; but the cohorts of the Retians, the Vindelicians, and the Gauls, marched to their relief: however, by his own ſpirit, and the vigour of his horſe, he eſcaped; his face beſmeared with his own blood to avoid being known. Some have related, that the Chaucians, who were amongſt the Roman auxiliaries, knew him, and let him go. The ſame bravery, or deceit, procured Inguiomerus his eſcape: the reſt were every where ſlain;

ſlain; and great numbers attempting to ſwim the Viſurgis, were deſtroyed in it, either purſued with darts, or ſwallowed by the current, or overwhelmed with the weight of the crowd, or buried under the falling banks. Some ſeeking a baſe refuge on the tops of trees, and concealment amongſt the branches, were ſhot in ſport by the archers, or ſquaſhed as the trees were felled. This was a mighty victory, and to us far from bloody!

This ſlaughter of the foe, from the fifth hour of the day till night, filled the country for ten miles with carcaſſes and arms. Amongſt the ſpoils, chains were found, which, ſure of conquering, they had brought to bind the Roman captives. The ſoldiers proclaimed Tiberius *Imperator* upon the field of battle, and, raiſing a mount, placed upon it as Trophies, the German arms, with the names of all the vanquiſhed nations, inſcribed below.

This ſight filled the Germans with more anguiſh and rage, than all their wounds, paſt afflictions and ſlaughters. They, who were juſt prepared to abandon their dwellings, and flit beyond the Elb, meditate war and graſp their arms. People, nobles, youth, aged, from all quarters, ruſh ſuddenly upon the Roman army in its march, and diſorder it. They next choſe their camp, a ſtreight and moiſt plain, ſhut in between a river and a foreſt; the foreſt too ſurrounded with a deep marſh, except on one ſide, which was cloſed with a barrier raiſed by the Angrivarians, between them and the Cheruſcans. Here ſtood their foot: their horſe were diſtributed and concealed amongſt the neighbouring groves, thence, by ſurprize, to beſet the Legions in the rear, as ſoon as they had entered the wood.

Nothing of all this was a ſecret to Germanicus: he knew their counſels, their ſtations; what ſteps they purſued, what meaſures they concealed; and to the deſtruction of the enemy turned their own

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ſubtilty and devices. To Seius Tubero, his Lieutenant, he committed the horſe and the field; the infantry he ſo diſpoſed, that part might paſs the level approaches into the wood; and the reſt force the rampart. This was the moſt arduous taſk, and to himſelf he reſerved it: the reſt he left to his Lieutenants. Thoſe who had the even ground to traverſe, broke eaſily in; but they who were to aſſail the rampart, were as grievouſly battered from above, as if they had been ſtorming a wall. The General perceived the inequality of this cloſe attack, and drawing off the Legions a ſmall diſtance, ordered the ſlingers to throw, and the engineers to play, to beat off the enemy. Immediately ſhowers of darts were poured from the engines, and the defenders of the barrier, the more bold and expoſed they were, with the more wounds they were beaten down. Germanicus, having taken the rampart, firſt forced his way, at the head of the Prætorian Cohorts, into the woods, and there it was fought foot to foot. Behind, the enemy were begirt with the moraſs; the Romans with the mountains, or the river; no room for either to retreat, no hope but in valour, no ſafety but in victory.

The Germans had not inferior courage, but they were exceeded in the faſhion of arms and art of fighting. Their mighty multitude, hampered in narrow places, could not puſh nor recover their long ſpears; nor practiſe in a cloſe combat, their uſual boundings and velocity of limbs. On the contrary, our ſoldiers, with handy ſwords, and their breaſts cloſely guarded with a buckler, delved the large bodies and naked faces of the Barbarians, and opened themſelves a way with a havock of the enemy. Beſides, the activity of Arminius now failed him; either ſpent through his continual efforts, or ſlackened by a wound juſt received. Inguiomerus, was every where upon the ſpur, animating the battle:

battle: but fortune, rather than courage, deſerted him. Germanicus, to be the eaſier known, pulled off his helmet, and exhorted his men, 'to proſe-'cute the ſlaughter; they wanted no captives, he 'ſaid; only the cutting off that people root and 'branch, would put an end to the war.' It was now late in the day, and he drew off a Legion to make a camp; the reſt glutted themſelves till night with the blood of the foe. The horſe fought with doubtful ſucceſs.

Germanicus, in a ſpeech from the tribunal, praiſed his victorious army, and raiſed a monument of arms, with a proud Inſcription, "That the army of Ti-"berius Cæſar, having vanquiſhed intirely the na-"tions between the Rhine and the Elb, had con-"ſecrated that monument to Mars, to Jupiter, and "to Auguſtus." Of himſelf he made no mention, either fearful of provoking envy, or that he thought it ſufficient praiſe to have deſerved it. He had next commanded Stertinius, to carry the war amongſt the Angrivarians; but they inſtantly ſubmitted; and theſe ſupplicants, by yielding without articles, obtained pardon without reſerve.

The ſummer now declining, ſome of the Legions were ſent back into winter-quarters, by land; more were embarked with Germanicus, upon the river Amiſia, to go from thence by the ocean. The ſea, at firſt, was ſerene, no ſound or agitation, except from the oars or ſails of a thouſand ſhips; but, ſuddenly a black hoſt of clouds poured a ſtorm of hail; furious winds roared on every ſide, and the tempeſt darkened the deep, ſo that all proſpect was loſt; and it was impoſſible to ſteer. The ſoldiers too, unaccuſtomed to the terrors of the ſea, in the hurry of fear diſordered the mariners, or interrupted the ſkilful by unſkilful help. At laſt, the ſouth-wind maſtering all the reſt, drove the ocean and the ſky. The tempeſt derived new force from the

windy

windy mountains and ſwelling rivers of Germany, as well as from an immenſe train of clouds; and contracting withal freſh vigour from the boiſterous neighbourhood of the north, it hurled the ſhips, and toſſed them into the open ocean, or againſt iſlands ſhored with ſharp rocks, or dangerouſly beſet with covered ſhoals. The ſhips, by degrees, with great labour, and the change of the tide, were relieved from the rocks and ſands, but remained at the mercy of the winds; their anchors could not hold them; they were full of water, nor could all their pumps diſcharge it; hence, to lighten and raiſe the veſſels ſwallowing at their decks the invading waves, the horſes, beaſts, baggage, and even the arms, were caſt into the deep.

By how much the German ocean is more outrageous than the reſt of the ſea, and the German climate excels in rigour, by ſo much this ruin was reckoned to exceed in greatneſs and novelty. They were engaged in a tempeſtuous ſea, believed deep without bottom, vaſt without bounds, or no ſhores near but hoſtile ſhores. Part of the fleet were ſwallowed up; many were driven upon remote iſlands, void of human culture, where the men periſhed through famine, or were kept alive by the carcaſſes of horſes, caſt in by the flood. Only the galley of Germanicus landed upon the coaſt of the Chaucians, where, wandring ſadly, day and night, upon the rocks and prominent ſhore, and inceſſantly accuſing himſelf as the author of ſuch mighty deſtruction, he was hardly reſtrained by his friends, from caſting himſelf deſperately into the ſame hoſtile floods. At laſt, with the returning tide, and an aſſiſting gale, the ſhips began to return, all maimed, almoſt deſtitute of oars, or with coats ſpread for ſails; and, ſome utterly diſabled, were dragged by thoſe that were leſs. He repaired them haſtily, and diſpatched them to ſearch the iſlands; and by this care many

men

men were gleaned up, many were by the Angrivarians, our new ſubjects, redeemed from their maritime neighbours, and reſtored; and ſome, driven into Great Britain, were ſent back by the little Britiſh Kings. Thoſe who had come from afar, recounted wonders at their return, 'the impetuoſity 'of whirlwinds; wonderful birds; ſea-monſters of 'ambiguous forms between man and beaſt;' ſtrange ſights; or the effects of imagination and fear.

The noiſe of this wreck, as it animated the Germans with hopes of renewing the war, awakened Germanicus alſo to reſtrain them. He commanded Caius Silius, with thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, to march againſt the Cattians; he himſelf, with a greater force, invaded the Marſians, where he learnt from Malovendus, their General, lately taken into our ſubjection, that the Eagle of one of Varus's Legions, was hid under ground in a neighbouring grove, and kept by a ſlender guard. Inſtantly two parties were diſpatched; one, to face the enemy, and provoke them from their poſt; the other to beſet their rear, and dig up the Eagle; and ſucceſs attended both. Hence Germanicus advanced with greater alacrity, laid waſte the country, and ſmote the foe, either not daring to engage, or, wherever they engaged, ſuddenly defeated; nor, as we learnt from the priſoners, were they ever ſeized with greater diſmay. 'The Romans, they cried, 'are invincible; no calamities can ſubdue them. 'They have wrecked their fleet; their arms are 'loſt, our ſhores are covered with the bodies of 'their horſes and men: Yet they attack us with 'their uſual ferocity, with the ſame firmneſs, and 'with numbers, as it were, increaſed.'

The army was from thence led back into winter-quarters, full of joy to have balanced, by this proſperous expedition, their late misfortunes at ſea; and by the bounty of Germanicus, their joy was heightened,

heightened, since to each sufferer he caused to be paid as much as each declared he had lost; neither was it doubted but the enemy were humbled, and concerting measures for obtaining peace, and that the next summer would terminate the war. But Tiberius, by frequent letters urged him 'to come 'home, there to celebrate the triumph already de-'creed him; he had already tried enough of events, 'and tempted abundant hazards. He had indeed 'fought great and successful battles; but he must 'likewise remember his losses and calamities, which, 'however owing to wind and waves, and no fault 'of the General, were yet great and grievous. He 'himself had been sent nine times into Germany by 'Augustus, and effected much more by policy than 'arms: it was thus he had brought the Sigambrians 'into subjection, thus drawn the Suevians, and 'King Maroboduus, under the bonds of peace. 'The Cheruscans too, and the other hostile na-'tions, now the Roman vengeance was satiated, 'might be left to pursue their own national feuds.' Germanicus besought one year to accomplish his conquest; but Tiberius assailed his modesty with a new bait, and fresh importunity, by offering him another Consulship, for the administration of which he was to attend in person at Rome: he added, 'that if the war was still to be prosecuted, Ger-'manicus should leave a field of glory to his brother 'Drusus, to whom there now remained no other; 'since the Empire had no where a war to maintain 'but in Germany, and thence only Drusus could 'acquire the title of Imperator, and merit the 'triumphal laurel.' Germanicus persisted no longer, though he knew that this was all feigned and hollow, and saw himself invidiously torn away from a harvest of ripe glory.

About this time, Libo Drusus, of the Scribonian family, was arraigned for meditatin attempts againſt

againſt the State. And, becauſe then firſt were deviſed thoſe peſtilent arts and impeachments, which for ſo many years devoured the Commonwealth, I will lay open with the more exactneſs the beginning, progreſs and iſſue of this affair. Firmius Catus the Senator, a cloſe confident of Libo, traiterouſly miſled that youth, unwary as he was, and eaſy to be enſnared, with ſpecious deluſions; engaged him to try the predictions of the Chaldeans, the ſuperſtitious rites of Magicians, and the interpreters of dreams; and to flatter his hopes and ambition, was inceſſantly magnifying the nobility of his race; for that Pompey was 'his great grand-father, Scribonia, 'once the wife of Auguſtus, his aunt, the Cæſars 'his kinſmen; and his houſe full of images;' tempted him to luxury and borrowing; was aſſociated with him in his debauches, ſurety for his debts, and all to accumulate more matter for crimes and evidence.

When he found himſelf furniſhed with ſtore of witneſſes, and amongſt them ſome of Libo's ſlaves, who were alſo privy to the obnoxious conduct of their maſter, he ſought admittance to the Emperor; having firſt by Flaccus Veſcularius, a Roman Knight, intimate with Tiberius, repreſented to him Libo as a criminal, as alſo a detail of his crimes. Tiberius ſlighted not his information, but denied him acceſs, 'for that the communication, he ſaid, might be 'ſtill managed by the ſame Flaccus.' In the mean time, he preferred Libo to the Prætorſhip, entertained him at his table, ſhewed no ſtrangeneſs in his countenance, no reſentment in his words (ſo deeply had he ſmothered his vengeance;) and, when he might have reſtrained all the dangerous ſpeeches and practices of Libo, he choſe rather to permit them, in order to know and puniſh them: nor were they checked or made public, till one Junius, who was dealt with to call up by charms the infernal

fernal ſhades, diſcovered this to Fulcinius Trio, a diſtinguiſhed accuſer, one greedy of renown in wickedneſs. Inſtantly Trio marked out the doom of the accuſed, haſtened to the Conſuls, and of them demanded that the Senate might meet and adjudge him. Thus the fathers were forthwith ſummoned, and even apprized, that 'upon an 'affair of mighty moment and horrible tendency to 'the State, they were to deliberate.'

Libo, the while, having changed his dreſs, went covered with mourning, from houſe to houſe, accompanied by Ladies of the nobleſt rank, and implored the mediation of his kindred, that they would protect him againſt impending ruin, and ſpeak in his behalf. But every one of them declined his ſuit, each upon a different pretence; yet, in reality all from the ſame fear. The day the Senate ſat for his trial, vanquiſhed with dread and ſinking under ſickneſs; or, as ſome relate, feigning it, he was borne in a litter to the court, and, leaning upon his brother, with ſupplicant hands and words, he accoſted and ſtrove to ſoften Tiberius, who received him with a countenance perfectly unmoved. It was the Emperor who next recited the charge againſt him, and the authors of the charge; but with ſuch wary moderation, that he might ſeem neither to ſoften nor ſharpen his crimes.

To Trio and Catus, two other accuſers, Fonteius Agrippa and Caius Vibius, joined themſelves, and ſtrove who ſhould have the right to implead the accuſed. At laſt, when neither would yield, and Libo was come unprovided with a pleader, Vibius undertook to maintain diſtinctly the ſeveral heads of the charge, and produced articles ſo extravagant, that amongſt the reſt it was one, how Libo had conſulted the fortune-tellers, 'whether 'he ſhould ever be maſter of opulence ſufficient to 'cover the great Appian road with money as far as

'Brunduſium.' There were others of the ſame kind, fooliſh, chimerical, or (taken in tenderer ſenſe) deſerving pity. But there was one article formed upon a paper, containing the names of the Cæſars as well as thoſe of ſome Senators, with myſterious characters, and malignant notes joined to them. This the accuſer urged againſt Libo, as written in his own hand. Libo denied it, and hence it was propoſed to examine by torture his conſcious ſlaves. But, ſeeing it was forbid by an ancient law of the Senate, to put ſervants to the queſtion, in a trial touching the life of their maſter, the crafty Tiberius invented a new law, to elude the old, and ordered theſe ſlaves to be ſold to the public ſteward, that, by this expedient, evidence againſt Libo might be racked from his ſervants, without violating the law. In this ſtate of deſpondency, Libo requeſted reſpite till the next day; and then returning to his own houſe, tranſmitted, by his kinſman Publius Quirinus, his laſt prayers to the Emperor, who replied, that 'he muſt make his 'requeſt to the Senate.'

His houſe was in the mean time encompaſſed with a band of ſoldiers, who with ſtudied noiſe and terror were filling all the court, on purpoſe to create certain attention and alarm, juſt when Libo ſat down to the banquet, which, as the ultimate pleaſure of his life he had prepared. But, then feeling agonies inſtead of pleaſure, he called for a miniſter of death, ſucceſſively graſped the hands of his ſlaves, and into them, by turns, ſtrove to ſqueeze a ſword. But they, as they trembled and ſhunned the ſad taſk, through the hurry of fear and flight overturning the lamp that illuminated the table; in this ominous and tragical darkneſs, he gave himſelf two deadly ſtabs in the bowels. As he groaned and fell, his freedmen ſprang in, and the ſoldiers, ſeeing the ſlaughter perpetrated, retired. The charge againſt him was however

however puſhed in the Senate, with the ſame unrelenting eagerneſs. Yet Tiberius vowed, 'that 'he would have interceded for his life, notwith-'ſtanding his treaſon, if he had not thus haſtily 'died by his own hands.'

His eſtate was divided amongſt his accuſers; and thoſe of them who bore the rank of Senators, were, without the regular way of election, preferred to Prætorſhips. Then Cotta Meſſalinus propoſed, that 'the image of Libo might not accompany the 'funerals of his poſterity;' Cneius Lentulus, that 'none of the Scribonii ſhould henceforth aſſume 'the ſirname of Druſus;' and at the motion of Pomponius Flaccus, days of thankſgiving were appointed. That 'gifts ſhould be preſented to Ju-'piter, to Mars, and to the Goddeſs Concord; 'and that the thirteenth of September, the day on 'which Libo ſlew himſelf, ſhould be an eſtabliſhed 'feſtival,' were the votes of Lucius Publius, of Aſinius Gallus, of Papius Mutilius, and of Lucius Apronius. I have related the votes and ſycophancy of theſe men, to ſhew that adulation is an inveterate evil in the ſtate. Decrees of the Senate were likewiſe made for driving Aſtrologers and Magicians out of Italy; and one of the herd, Lucius Pituanius, was precipitated from the Tarpeian Rock. Publius Marcius, another, was by judgment of the Conſuls, at the ſound of trumpet, executed without the Eſquiline Gate, according to the ancient form.

Next time the Senate ſat, long diſcourſes againſt the luxury of the city were made by Quintus Haterius, a Conſular, and by Octavius Fronto, formerly Prætor, and a law was paſſed 'againſt uſing 'table-plate of ſolid gold; and againſt men's de-'baſing themſelves with gorgeous and effeminate 'ſilks.' Fronto went farther, and deſired that 'the quantities of ſilver-plate, the expence of fur-'niture, and the number of domeſtics, might be

'limited.' For it was yet common for Senators to depart from the preſent debate, and offer, as their advice, whatever they judged conducing to the intereſt of the Commonweal. Againſt him it was argued by Aſinius Gallus, 'that with the growth 'of the Empire, private riches were likewiſe grown, 'and it was no new thing for citizens to live accord-'ing to their conditions, but, indeed, agreeable to 'the moſt primitive uſage. The ancient Fabricii, 'and the latter Scipios, having different wealth, 'lived differently; but all ſuitably to the ſeveral 'ſtages of the Commonwealth. Public poverty was 'accompanied with domeſtic; but, when the State 'roſe to ſuch a height of magnificence, the mag-'nificence of particulars roſe too. As to plate, and 'train, and expence, there was no ſtandard of 'exceſs or frugality, but from the fortunes of men. 'The law, indeed, had made a diſtinction between 'the fortunes of Senators and of Knights; not for 'any natural difference between them; but that they 'who excelled in place, rank, and civil pre-emi-'nence, might excel too in other particulars, ſuch 'as conduced to the health of the body, or to the 'peace and ſolacement of the ſoul; unleſs it were 'expected, that the moſt illuſtrious citizens ſhould 'ſuſtain the ſharpeſt cares, and undergo the hea-'vieſt fatigues and dangers, but continue deſtitute 'of every alleviation of fatigue, and danger, and 'care.' Gallus eaſily prevailed, whilſt, under worthy names, he avowed and ſupported popular vices in an aſſembly engaged in them. Tiberius too had ſaid, 'that it was not a ſeaſon for reformation; 'or, if there were any corruption of manners, there 'would not be wanting one to correct them.'

During theſe tranſactions, Lucius Piſo, after he had declaimed bitterly, in the Senate, againſt 'the 'cabals and intrigues of the Forum, the corrup-'tion of the tribunals, and the inhumanity of the 'pleaders

'pleaders breathing continual terror and impeach-
'ments,' declared, 'he would intirely relinquish
'Rome, and retire into a quiet corner of the
'country, far distant and obscure.' With these words he left the Senate. Tiberius was provoked; and yet not only soothed him with gentle words, but likewise obliged Piso's relations, by their authority or entreaties to retain him. The same Piso gave soon after an equal instance of the indignation of a free spirit, by prosecuting a suit against Urgulania; a Lady whom the partial friendship of Livia had set at defiance with the laws. Urgulania being carried, for protection, to the palace, despised the efforts of Piso; so that neither did she submit, nor would he desist, notwithstanding the complaints and resentments of Livia, that, in the prosecution, 'violence and indignity were done to 'her own person.' Tiberius promised to attend the trial, and assist Urgulania; but only promised in civility to his mother, for so far he thought it became him; and thus left the palace, ordering his guards to follow at a distance. People, the while, crowded about him, and he walked with a slow and composed air. As he lingered, and prolonged the time and way with various discourse, the trial went on; Piso would not be mollified by the importunity of his friends; and hence at last the Empress ordered the payment of the money claimed by him. This was the issue of the affair. By it Piso lost no renown; and it signally increased the credit of Tiberius. The power however of Urgulania was so exorbitant to the State, that she disdained to appear a witness in a certain cause before the Senate; and, when it had been always usual, even for the Vestal virgins to attend the Forum and Courts of Justice, as oft as their evidence was required; a Prætor was sent to examine Urgulania at her own house.

The procraſtination which happened this year in the public affairs, I ſhould not mention, but that the different opinions of Cneius Piſo and Aſinius Gallus about it, are worth knowing. Their diſpute was occaſioned by a declaration of Tiberius; 'that he was about to be abſent.' And it was the motion of Piſo, 'that for that very reaſon, the 'proſecution of public buſineſs was the rather to 'be continued; ſince, as in the Prince's abſence, 'the Senate and Equeſtrian order might adminiſter 'their ſeveral parts, the ſame would become the 'dignity of the Commonwealth.' This was a declaration for liberty, and in it Piſo had prevented Gallus, who now, in oppoſition, ſaid, 'that no-'thing ſufficiently illuſtrious, nor ſuiting the dig-'nity of the Roman people, could be tranſacted 'but under the immediate eye of the Emperor, 'and therefore the conflux of ſuitors, and the af-'fairs from Italy, and the provinces, muſt by all 'means be reſerved for his preſence.' Tiberius heard, and was ſilent, while the debate was managed on both ſides with mighty vehemence; but the adjournment was carried.

A debate too aroſe between Gallus and the Emperor; for, Gallus moved, 'that the Magiſtrates 'ſhould be henceforth elected but once every five 'years; that the legates of the Legions, who had 'never exerciſed the Prætorſhips, ſhould be ap-'pointed Prætors; and that the Prince ſhould no-'minate twelve candidates every year.' It was not doubted but this motion had a deeper aim, and that by it the ſecret ſprings and reſerves of imperial power were invaded. But Tiberius, as if he rather apprehended the augmentation of his authority, argued, 'that it was a heavy taſk upon his 'moderation, to chuſe ſo many magiſtrates, and to 'poſtpone ſo many candidates; that diſguſts from 'diſappointments were hardly avoided in yearly elections;

'tions; though, for their ſolacement, freſh hopes 'remained of approaching ſucceſs in the next; now 'how great muſt be the hatred, how laſting the 'reſentment of ſuch whoſe pretenſions were to be 'rejected beyond five years? and whence could it 'be foreſeen, that, in ſo long a tract of time, the 'ſame men would continue to have the ſame diſ-'poſitions, the ſame alliances and fortunes? even 'an annual deſignation to power, made men im-'perious; how imperious would it make them, 'if they bore the honour for five years! beſides, 'it would multiply every ſingle Magiſtrate into 'five, and utterly ſubvert the laws which had pre-'ſcribed a proper ſpace for exerciſing the diligence 'of the candidates, and for ſolliciting as well as 'enjoying preferments."

By this ſpeech, in appearance popular, he ſtill retained the ſpirit and force of the ſovereignty. He likewiſe ſuſtained by gratuities the dignity of ſome neceſſitous Senators. Hence it was the more wondered, that he received with haughtineſs and repulſe the petition of Marcus Hortalus, a young man of ſignal quality, and manifeſtly poor. He was the grandſon of Hortenſius the Orator; and had been encouraged by the deified Auguſtus with a bounty of a thouſand great ſeſterces [a], to marry for poſterity, purely to prevent the extinction of a family ſo eminently illuſtrious. The ſenate were ſitting in the palace, and Hortalus having ſet his four children before the door, fixed his eyes, now upon the ſtatue of Hortenſius, placed amongſt the Orators; then upon that of Auguſtus; and, inſtead of ſpeaking to the queſtion then debated, began on this wiſe: 'Conſcript fathers, you ſee there the 'number and infancy of my children; not mine

[a] About twenty-five thouſand Crowns.

'by my own choice, but in compliance with the 'advice of the Prince. Such too was the ſplendor 'of my anceſtors, that it merited to be perpetuated 'in their race. But, for my own particular, who, 'marred by the revolution of the times, could not 'raiſe wealth, nor engage popular favour, nor 'cultivate the hereditary fortune of our houſe, the 'fortune of Eloquence; I deemed it ſufficient, if, 'in my narrow circumſtances, I lived no diſgrace 'to myſelf, no burden to others. Commanded 'by the Emperor, I took a wife: behold the off-'ſpring of ſo many Conſuls; behold the deſcen-'dants of ſo many Dictators! nor is this remem-'brance invidiouſly made, but made to move mer-'cy. In the progreſs of your reign, Cæſar, theſe 'children may arrive at the honours in your gift. 'Defend them in the mean time from want: they 'are the great grandſons of Hortenſius; they are 'the foſter ſons of Auguſtus.'

The inclination of the Senate was favourable, an incitement to Tiberius the more eagerly to thwart Hortalus. Theſe were in effect his words: 'If 'all that are poor recur hither for a proviſion of 'money to their children, the public will certainly 'fail, yet particulars never be ſatiated. Our an-'ceſtors, when they permitted a departure from 'the queſtion, to propoſe ſomewhat more impor-'tant to the ſtate, did not therefore permit it, that 'we might here tranſact domeſtic matters, and 'augment our private rents; an employment invi-'dious both in the Senate and the Prince; ſince, 'whether they grant or deny the petitioned boun-'ties, either the people or the petitioners will ever 'be offended. But theſe, in truth, are not pe-'titions; they are demands made againſt order, 'and made by ſurprize. While you are aſſembled 'upon other affairs, he ſtands up, and urges your 'pity, by the number and infancy of his children; with

'with the ſame violence, he changes the attack to 'me, and, as it were, burſts open the exchequer. 'But, if by popular bounties we exhauſt it, by 'rapine and oppreſſion we muſt ſupply it. The 'deified Auguſtus gave you money, Hortalus; 'but without ſolicitation he gave it, and on no 'condition that it ſhould always be given: other-'wiſe diligence will languiſh; ſloth will prevail; 'and men having no hopes in reſources of their 'own; no anxiety for themſelves, but all ſecurely 'relying on foreign relief, will become private 'ſluggards and public burdens.' Theſe and the like reaſonings of Tiberius were differently received; with approbation by thoſe whoſe way it is to extol, without diſtinction, all the doings of Princes, worthy and unworthy; by moſt, however, with ſilence, or low and diſcontented murmurs. Tiberius perceived it, and having pauſed a little, ſaid, 'his 'anſwer was particularly to Hortalus; but, if the 'Senate thought fit, he would give his ſons two 'hundred great ſeſterces * each.' For this all the Senators preſented their thanks; only Hortalus ſaid nothing; perhaps through preſent awe, or perhaps poſſeſſed, even in poverty, with the grandeur of his ancient nobility. Nor did Tiberius ever ſhew farther pity, though the houſe of Hortenſius was fallen into ſhameful diſtreſs.

The ſame year, the boldneſs of a ſingle bondman had, but for early prevention, torn the ſtate with great combuſtions and civil arms. A ſlave of Poſthumus Agrippa, his name Clemens, having learnt the death of Auguſtus, conceived a deſign to ſail to Planaſia, and there releaſing Agrippa by art or force, to carry him to the armies in Germany. No ſlaviſh deſign! but, the ſlowneſs of the laden veſſel defeated his bold purpoſe; for Agrippa was

* About five thouſand Crowns.

already murdered. Hence he conceived views ſtill higher and more daring. He ſtole the funeral aſhes, and ſailing to Coſa, a promontory of Etruria, hid himſelf in deſart places, till his hair and beard were grown long; for, in age and perſon, he was not unlike his maſter. Then, a report ſpread by truſty emiſſaries and the aſſociates of the plot, 'that A-'grippa lived,' began to thicken. It firſt crept abroad in dark whiſpers, as uſual in matters of dangerous tendency; but becoming ſoon a prevailing rumour, it filled the greedy ears of the credulous, or was encouraged by turbulent minds, ſuch as are ever fond of public agitations and changes. He himſelf, when he entered the neighbouring towns, did it in the gloom of the day; never to be ſeen publickly, nor long in the ſame place. But, as truth is ſtrengthened by obſervation and time; lies by haſte and uncertainty, he out-ran fame. Here he ſtaid not to be known; there he arrived before his name arrived.

It flew through Italy, in the mean time, 'that, 'by the bounty of the Gods, Agrippa was preſerved.' It was even believed at Rome. His ſuppoſed arrival at Oſtia, was celebrated by great multitudes abroad; and in the city by clandeſtine cabals; whilſt divided cares diſtracted Tiberius, whether he ſhould ſuppreſs his ſlave by the power of the ſword, or ſuffer the empty credulity of the public to vaniſh with time. Now he thought that nothing was to be ſlighted; now that every thing was not to be dreaded, wavering between ſhame and fear. At laſt he committed the affair to Salluſtius Criſpus. Criſpus choſe two of his creatures, (ſome ſay two ſoldiers) and directed them to go directly to him, to feign themſelves his adherents, men who were conſcious that he was the genuine Agrippa, to preſent him with money, and to promiſe him, without reſerve, their faith and fortunes. They inſtantiy executed

theſe

theſe orders, and afterwards ſpying him one night without guards, and being themſelves furniſhed with a proper band of men, they carried him to the palace, gagged and bound. To Tiberius, when he aſked him, 'How he was become Agrippa?' he is ſaid to have anſwered, 'Juſt as you became Cæſar.' But, to diſcover his accomplices, he could never be conſtrained. Neither dared Tiberius venture to execute him publicly, but ordered him to be diſpatched in a ſecret part of the palace, and his body to be carried privately away; and, though many of the Prince's houſhold, many Knights and Senators, were ſaid to have ſupported him with money, and aſſiſted him with their Counſels; no enquiry followed.

At the end of the year, a triumphal arch was raiſed near the Temple of Saturn, as a monument for the recovery of the Varian Eagles, under the conduct of Germanicus, and the auſpices of Tiberius. A temple was dedicated to happy Fortune near the Tiber, in the Gardens bequeathed to the Roman people by Cæſar the Dictator. A Chapel was conſecrated to the Julian family, and ſtatues to the deified Auguſtus, in the ſuburbs called Bovillæ. In the Conſulſhip of Caius Celius and Lucius Pomponius, the ſix and twentieth of May, Germanicus Cæſar triumphed over the Cheruſcans, the Cattians, the Angrivarians, and the other nations as far as the Elb. In the triumph were carried all the ſpoils and captives, with the repreſentations of mountains, of rivers, and of battles; ſo that his conqueſts, becauſe he was reſtrained from compleating them, were taken for compleat. His own graceful perſon, and his chariot filled with his five children, heightened the ſhew and the delight of the beholders. Yet they were checked with ſecret fears; as they remembered, 'that popular favour 'had proved malignant to his father Druſus; that

'his

'his uncle Marcellus was ſnatched, in his youth,
'from the burning affections of the populace, and,
'that ever ſhort-lived and unfortunate were the
'favourites of the Roman people.'

Tiberius diſtributed to the people in the name of Germanicus, three hundred ſeſterces * a man, and named himſelf his Collegue in the Conſulſhip. Nor even thus did he gain the opinion of tenderneſs and ſincerity. In effect, on pretence of inveſting the young Prince with freſh preferment and honours, he reſolved to alienate him from Rome; and, to accompliſh it, craftily framed an occaſion, or ſnatched ſuch a one as chance preſented. Archelaus had enjoyed the Kingdom of Cappadocia now fifty years, a Prince under the deep diſpleaſure of Tiberius, becauſe in his retirement at Rhodes, the King had paid him no ſort of court nor diſtinction; an omiſſion which proceeded from no diſdain, but from the warnings given him by the confidents of Auguſtus; for that the young Caius Cæſar, the preſumptive heir to the Sovereignty, then lived; and was ſent to compoſe and adminiſter the affairs of the Eaſt; hence the friendſhip of Tiberius was reckoned then dangerous. But when, by the utter fall of the family of the Cæſars, he had gained the Empire, he enticed Archelaus to Rome, by means of letters from his mother, who, without diſſembling her ſon's reſentment, offered the King his mercy, provided he came and in perſon implored it. He, who was either ignorant of the ſnare, or dreaded violence if he had appeared to perceive it, haſtened to the City; where he was received by Tiberius with great ſternneſs and wrath, and ſoon after accuſed as a criminal in the Senate. The crimes alledged againſt him were mere fictions; yet, as equal treatment is unuſual to Kings, and, to be treated like

* Seven Crowns and a half.

male-

malefactors, intolerable; Archelaus, who was broken with grief as well as age, by choice or fate ended his life. His Kingdom was reduced into a province, and by its revenues Tiberius declared, the tax of the hundredth penny would be abated, and reduced it for the future to the two hundredth. At the same time died Antiochus, King of Comagena, as also Philopater, King of Cilicia; and great combustions shook these nations; whilst many of the people desired the Roman Government, and many were addicted to domestic Monarchy. The provinces too of Syria and Judea, as they were oppressed with impositions, prayed an abatement of tribute.

These affairs, and such as I have above related concerning Armenia, Tiberius represented to the Fathers, and, 'that the commotions of the East 'could only be settled by the wisdom and abilities 'of Germanicus. For himself; his age now de-'clined, and that of Drusus was not yet sufficiently 'ripe.' The provinces beyond the sea were thence decreed to Germanicus, with authority superior to all those who obtained provinces by lot, or the nomination of the Prince. But, Tiberius had already taken care to remove from the government of Syria Creticus Silanus, one united to Germanicus in domestic alliance, by having betrothed his daughter to Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus. In his room he had preferred Cneius Piso, a man of violent temper, incapable of subjection, and heir to all the ferocity and haughtiness of his father Piso; the same who, in the civil war, assisted the reviving party against Cæsar in Africa, with vehement efforts, then followed Brutus and Cassius, but had at last leave to come home; yet disdained to sue for any public offices; nay, was even courted by Augustus to accept the Consulship. His son, besides his hereditary pride and impetuosity, was elevated with the nobi-

lity and wealth of Plancina his wife. Scarce yielded he to Tiberius, and, as men far beneath him, deſpiſed the ſons of Tiberius. Neither did he doubt but he was ſet over Syria on purpoſe to defeat all the views of Germanicus. Some even believed, that he had to this purpoſe ſecret orders from Tiberius; as it was certain, that Livia directed Plancina to exert the ſpirit of the ſex, and by conſtant emulation and indignities, to perſecute Agrippina. For, the whole court was rent, and their affections ſecretly divided between Druſus and Germanicus. Tiberius was partial to Druſus, as his own ſon by generation; others loved Germanicus; the more for the averſion of his uncle, and for being by his mother, of more illuſtrious deſcent; as Marc Anthony was his grandfather, and Auguſtus his great uncle. On the other ſide, Pomponius Atticus, a Roman Knight, by being the great grandfather of Druſus, ſeemed thence to have derived a ſtain upon the images of the Claudian houſe. Beſides, Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, did in the fruitfulneſs of her body, and the reputation of her virtue, far excel Livia the wife of Druſus. Yet the two brothers lived in amiable dearneſs and concord, no wiſe ſhaken or eſtranged by the reigning contention amongſt their ſeparate friends and adherents.

Druſus was ſoon after ſent into Illyricum, in order to inure him to war, and gain him the affections of the army. Beſides, Tiberius thought that the youth, who lived wantoning in the luxuries of Rome, would be reformed in the camp, and that his own ſecurity would be enlarged when both his ſons were at the head of the Legions. But, the pretence for ſending him was the protection of the Suevians, who were then imploring aſſiſtance againſt the power of the Cheruſcans. For, theſe nations, who ſince the departure of the Romans, ſaw themſelves no longer threatened with terrors from abroad,

and

and were then particularly engaged in a national competition for glory, had relapſed, as uſual, into their old inteſtine feuds, and turned their arms upon each other. The two people were equally powerful, their two leaders equally brave, but differently eſteemed, as the title of King had drawn upon Maroboduus the hate and averſion of his countrymen; whilſt Arminius, as a champion warring for the defence of liberty, was the univerſal object of popular affection.

Hence not only the Cheruſcans and their confederates, they who had been the ancient ſoldiery of Arminius, took arms; but to him too revolted the Semnones and Langobards, both Suevian nations, and even ſubjects of Maroboduus; and by their acceſſion he would have exceeded in puiſſance, but Inguiomerus with his band of followers deſerted to Maroboduus; for no other cauſe than diſdain, that an old man and an uncle like himſelf, ſhould obey Arminius a young man his nephew. Both armies were drawn out, with equal hopes; nor disjointed, like the old German battles, into ſcattered parties for looſe and random attacks; for, by long war with us, they had learnt to follow their enſigns, to ſtrengthen their main body with parties of reſerve, and to obſerve the orders of their Generals. Arminius was now on horſeback viewing all the ranks: as he rode through them he magnified their paſſed feats; 'their liberty recovered, the ſlaughtered 'Legions; the ſpoils of arms wreſted from the 'Romans; monuments of victory ſtill retained in 'ſome of their hands.' Upon Maroboduus he fell with contumelious names, as 'a fugitive, one of 'no abilities in war; a coward, who had ſought 'defence from the gloomy coverts of the Hercynian 'wood, and then by gifts and ſolicitations, courted 'the alliance of Rome: a betrayer of his country, 'a lifeguard-man of Cæſar's, worthy to be exter-

'minated

'minated with no leſs hoſtile vengeance than in the 'ſlaughter of Quinctilius Varus they had ſhewn. 'Let them only remember ſo many battles bravely 'fought; the events of which, particularly the 'utter expulſion of the Romans, were ſufficient 'proofs with whom remained the glory of the 'war.'

Neither did Maroboduus fail to boaſt himſelf, and to depreciate the foe. 'In the perſon of In-'guiomerus, he ſaid, (holding him by the hand) 'reſted the whole renown of the Cheruſcans; and 'from his counſels began all their exploits that 'ended in ſucceſs. Arminius, a man of a frantic 'ſpirit, and a novice in affairs, aſſumed to himſelf 'the glory of another, for having by treachery ſur-'prized three Legions, which expected no foe, 'and their leader, who feared no fraud; a baſe 'ſurprize, revenged ſince on Germany with heavy 'ſlaughters, and on Arminius himſelf with do-'meſtic infamy, while his wife and his ſon ſtill 'bore the bonds of captivity. For himſelf; when 'attacked formerly by Tiberius at the head of 'twelve Legions, he had preſerved unſtained the 'glory of Germany, and on equal terms ended the 'war. Nor did he repent of the treaty, ſince it 'was ſtill in their hands to wage anew, equal war 'with the Romans, or ſave blood and maintain 'peace.' The armies, beſides the incitements from theſe ſpeeches, were animated by national ſti-mulations of their own. The Cheruſcans fought for their ancient renown, the Langobards for their recent liberty; and the Suevians and their King, on the contrary, were ſtruggling for the augmentation of their monarchy. Never did armies make a fiercer onſet, never had onſet a more ambiguous event; for, both the right wings were routed, and hence a freſh encounter was certainly expected, until Ma-roboduus drew off his army and encamped upon the hills;

hills; a manifeſt ſign that he was humbled; frequent deſertions too leaving him at laſt naked of forces, he retired to the Marcomannians, and thence ſent Embaſſadors to Tiberius, to implore ſuccours. They were anſwered, 'That he had no right to 'invoke aid of the Roman arms againſt the Cheruſ-'cans; ſince to the Romans, while they were 'warring with the ſame foe, he had never admini-'ſtred any aſſiſtance.' Druſus was however ſent away, as I have ſaid, with the character of a negociator of peace.

The ſame year, twelve noble cities of Aſia were overturned by an earthquake. The ruin happened in the night, and the more dreadful as its warnings were unobſerved. Neither availed the uſual ſanctuary againſt ſuch calamities, namely, a flight to the fields; ſince thoſe who fled, the gaping earth devoured. It is reported, 'That mighty mountains 'ſubſided, plains were heaved into high hills; 'and that with flaſhes and eruptions of fire, the 'mighty devaſtation was every where accompanied.' The Sardians felt moſt heavily the rage of the concuſſion, and therefore moſt compaſſion; Tiberius promiſed them a hundred thouſand great ſeſterces *, and remitted their taxes for five years. The inhabitants of Magneſia under Mount Sipylus, were held the next in ſufferings, and had proportionable relief. The Temnians, Philadelphians, the Egeatæans, Apollonians, with thoſe called the Moſtenians or Macedonians of Hyrcania, the cities too of Hierocæſarea, Myrina, Cyme and Tmolus; were all for the ſame term eaſed of tribute. It was likewiſe reſolved to ſend one of the Senate to view the deſolations, and adminiſter proper remedies. Marcus Aletus was therefore choſen, one of Prætorian rank; becauſe a Conſular Senator then governing

* Two hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns.

Aſia,

Aſia, had another of the like quality been ſent, an emulation between equals was apprehended, and conſequently oppoſition and delays.

The credit of this noble bounty to the public, he increaſed by private liberalities, which proved equally popular; the eſtate of the wealthy Emilla Muſa, claimed by the exchequer, as ſhe died inteſtate, he ſurrendered to Emilius Lepidus, to whoſe family ſhe ſeemed to belong; as alſo to Marcus Servilius, the inheritance of Patuleius, a rich Roman Knight, though part of it had been bequeathed to himſelf; but he found Servilius named ſole heir in a former and well-atteſted will. He ſaid, ſuch was 'the nobility of both, that they deſerved to be 'ſupported.' Nor did he ever accept to himſelf any man's inheritance, but where former friendſhip gave him a title. The wills of ſuch as were ſtrangers to him, and of ſuch as, from hate and prejudice to others, had appointed the Prince their heir, he utterly rejected. But, as he relieved the honeſt poverty of the virtuous, ſo he degraded from the Senate, (or ſuffered to quit it of their own accord) Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sylla, and Quintus Vitellius, all prodigals, and only through debauchery indigent.

About this time, Tiberius finiſhed and conſecrated what Auguſtus began, the Temples of the Gods conſumed by age or fire; that near the great Circus, vowed by Aulus Poſthumius the Dictator, to Bacchus, Proſerpina and Ceres; in the ſame place the Temple of Flora, founded by Lucius Publicius and Marcus Publicius, while they were Ædiles; the Temple of Janus, built in the Herb-Market by Caius Duillius, who firſt ſignalized the Roman power at ſea, and merited a naval triumph over the Carthaginians. That of Hope was dedicated by Germanicus. This Temple Atilius had vowed in the ſame war.

The

The Law of violated Majeſty, in the mean time, waxed intenſe, and by it an accuſer impleaded Apuleia Varilia, grand-niece to Auguſtus by his ſiſter; for that with opprobrious words ſhe had reviled the deified Auguſtus, Tiberius and his mother; and being nearly allied to the Emperor, had ſtained by adultery, the Cæſarean blood. Concerning the adultery, ſufficient proviſion was thought already made by the Julian Law; and the crimes of ſtate, Tiberius deſired, might be ſeparated: If ſhe had 'uttered impious ſpeeches of Auguſtus, ſhe muſt 'be condemned; but, for invectives againſt him-'ſelf, he would not have her called to any account.' The Conſul aſked him, 'What would be his ſen-'timents, if ſhe were convicted of defaming his 'mother?' To this he made no anſwer; but next ſitting of the Senate, he prayed too in her name, 'That no words ſpoken againſt her, might to any 'one be imputed for crimes;' and acquitted Apuleia of the treaſon; of her puniſhment too for adultery, he begged a mitigation, and prevailed, that, 'by the example of our anceſtors, ſhe ſhould be 'removed by her kindred two hundred miles from 'Rome.' Manlius her adulterer was interdicted Italy and Africa.

A debate at this time aroſe about ſubſtituting a Prætor in the room of Viſpanius Gallus, removed by death. Germanicus and Druſus (for they were yet at Rome) eſpouſed Haterius Agrippa, kinſman to Germanicus. Many, on the contrary, inſiſted, that the number of children ſhould decide it, and the candidate who had moſt be preferred; for this was the voice of the Law. Tiberius rejoiced to ſee the Senate engaged in a contention between his ſons and the laws. The law, without doubt, was vanquiſhed, yet not inſtantly, and by a ſmall majority; but with the ſame ſtruggle that laws were vanquiſhed when laws were in force.

This

This year, a war began in Africa, conducted by Tacfarinas. He was a native of Numidia, and had ſerved amongſt the auxiliaries in the Roman armies, but deſerting the ſervice, gathered together, by the allurements of booty and rapine, at firſt a herd of vagabonds and men inured to robberies; then formed them, like an army, into regular companies of foot, and troops of horſe, under diſtinct ſtandards and colours. At length he was no longer eſteemed the leader of a diſorderly gang, but conſidered as General of the Muſulanians. This powerful people, borderers upon the deſarts of Africa, ſtill wild, and without towns, took arms, and drew into the war the neighbouring Moors. Theſe too had a General of their own, his name Mazippa; and between the two leaders the army was divided, that, whilſt Tacfarinas encamped with the beſt men, armed after the faſhion of Romans, and accuſtomed them to diſcipline and command, Mazippa, with a flying band, might make excurſions on every ſide, with fire, ſlaughter and alarms. They had likewiſe forced the Cinithians into their meaſures, a nation no wiſe deſpicable; when Furius Camillus, Proconſul of Africa, marched againſt the enemy with one Legion, and what troops of the Allies were under his command; a handful of men at moſt, when compared to the multitude of Numidians and Moors! But it was his firſt care not to intimidate them with numbers, and thence tempt them to elude fighting, and prolong the war. Indeed, he gave them hopes of victory, only to enable himſelf to vanquiſh them. The Legion was placed in the center, the light cohorts, and two wings of horſe on the right and left. Nor did Tacfarinas decline the combat. The Numidians were routed; and, after a long ſeries of years, military renown recovered to the name of Furius. For ſince Camillus the reſtorer of Rome and his ſon, the glory of command

mand and victories continued in other families. Even he whom I have mentioned, paſſed for a man deſtitute of military abilities and experience in war. Hence Tiberius magnified with the more unfeigned alacrity his exploits to the Senate, and to him the fathers decreed the enſigns of triumph. Yet to Camillus all this merit and diſtinction proved no ſnare, protected as he was by a life ſingularly modeſt and retired.

The Conſuls for the following year were Tiberius the third time, Germanicus the ſecond. This dignity overtook Germanicus at Nicopolis, a city of Achaia, whither he arrived, by the coaſt of Illyricum, from viſiting his brother Druſus, then abiding in Dalmatia, and had ſuffered a tempeſtuous paſſage, both in the Adriatic and Ionian ſea. He therefore ſpent a few days to repair his fleet, and viewed the while the Bay of Actium, renowned for the naval victory there, as alſo the ſpoils conſecrated by Auguſtus, and the Camp of Anthony, with an affecting remembrance of theſe his anceſtors; for Anthony, as I have ſaid, was his great uncle, Auguſtus his grandfather. Hence this ſcene proved to Germanicus a mighty ſource of images pleaſing and ſad. Next he proceeded to Athens, where, in conceſſion to that ancient city, allied to Rome, he would uſe but one Lictor. The Greeks received him with the moſt elaborate honours, and, to dignify their perſonal flattery, carried before him tablatures of the ſignal deeds and ſayings of his anceſtors.

Hence he ſailed to Eubœa, thence to Lesbos, where Agrippina was delivered of Julia, who proved her laſt child. Then he kept the coaſt of Aſia, and viſited Perinthus and Byzantium, cities of Thrace, and entered the ſtreights of Propontis, and the mouth of the Euxine, fond of beholding ancient places long celebrated by fame. He relieved,

lieved, at the ſame time, the provinces where-ever diſtracted with inteſtine factions, or aggrieved with the oppreſſions of their Magiſtrates. In his return he ſtrove to ſee the religious rites of the Samothracians, but, by the violence of the north wind was repulſed from the ſhore. As he paſſed, he ſaw Troy and her remains, venerable for the viciſſitude of her fate, and for the birth of Rome. Regaining the coaſt of Aſia, he put in at Colophon, to conſult there the Oracle of the Clarian Apollo. It is no Pythoneſs that repreſents the God here, as at Delphos, but a prieſt, one choſen from certain families, chiefly of Miletus; neither requires he more than juſt to hear the names and numbers of the queriſts, and then deſcends into the oracular cave; where, after a draught of water from a ſecret ſpring, though ignorant for the moſt part of Letters and Poetry, he yet utters his anſwers in Verſe, which has for its ſubject the conceptions and wiſhes of each conſultant. He was even ſaid to have ſung to Germanicus his haſtening fate, but, as Oracles are wont, in terms dark and doubtful.

Now Cneius Piſo, hurrying to the execution of his purpoſes, terrified the city of Athens by a tempeſtuous entry, and reproached them in a ſevere ſpeech, with oblique cenſure of Germanicus, 'that, 'debaſing the dignity of the Roman name, he had 'paid exceſſive court, not to the Athenians, by ſo 'many ſlaughters long ſince extinct, but to the 'then mixed ſcum of nations there; for that theſe 'were they who had leagued with Mithridates 'againſt Sylla, and with Anthony againſt Au-'guſtus.' He even charged them with the errors and misfortunes of ancient Athens; her impotent attempts againſt the Macedonians; her violence and ingratitude to her own citizens. He was alſo an enemy to their city from perſonal anger; becauſe they would not pardon, at his requeſt, one

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Theophilus, condemned by the Areopagus for forgery. From thence, ſailing haſtily through the Cyclades, and taking the ſhorteſt courſe, he overtook Germanicus at Rhodes, but was there driven by a ſudden tempeſt upon the rocks; and Germanicus, who was not ignorant with what malignity and invectives he was purſued, yet acted with ſo much humanity, that, when he might have left him to periſh, and have referred to caſualty the deſtruction of his enemy, he diſpatched galleys, to reſcue him from the wreck. This generous kindneſs, however, aſſwaged not the animoſity of Piſo; ſcarce could he brook a day's delay with Germanicus, but left him in haſte to arrive in Syria before him. Nor was he ſooner there, and found himſelf amongſt the Legions, than he began to court the common men by bounties and careſſes, to aſſiſt them with his countenance and credit, to form factions, to remove all the ancient Centurions, and every Tribune of remarkable diſcipline and ſeverity, and, in their places, to put dependents of his own, or men recommended only by their crimes. He permitted ſloth in the camp, licentiouſneſs in the towns, a rambling and diſorderly ſoldiery, and carried the corruption ſo high, that in the diſcourſes of the herd, he was ſtiled *Father of the Legions*. Nor did Plancina reſtrain herſelf to a conduct ſeemly in her ſex, but frequented the exerciſes of the cavalry, and attended the decurſions of the Cohorts, every where inveighing againſt Agrippina, every where againſt Germanicus; and ſome, even of the moſt deſerving ſoldiers, became prompt to baſe obedience, from a rumour whiſpered abroad, 'that all this 'was not unacceptable to Tiberius.'

Theſe doings were all known to Germanicus; but his more inſtant care was, to viſit Armenia, an inconſtant and reſtleſs nation from the beginning, from the genius of the people, as well as from the

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ſituation of their country, which, bordering with a large frontier on our provinces, and ſtretching thence quite to Media, is incloſed between the two great Empires, and often at variance with them; with the Romans through antipathy and hatred, with the Parthians through competition and envy. At this time, and ever ſince the removal of Venones, they had no King; but the affections of the nations leaned to Zeno, ſon of Polemon King of Pontus, becauſe by an attachment, from his infancy, to the faſhions and cuſtoms of the Armenians, by hunting, feaſting, and other uſages practiſed and renowned amongſt the Barbarians, he had equally won the nobles and people. Upon his head, therefore, at the city of Artaxata, with the approbation of the nobles, in a great aſſembly, Germanicus put the regal Diadem; and the Armenians doing homage to their King, ſaluted him, Artaxias, a name which from that of their city, they gave him. The Cappadocians, at this time reduced into the form of a province, received for their Governor, Quintus Veranius; and, to raiſe their hopes of the gentler dominion of Rome, ſeveral of the royal taxes were leſſened. Quintus Servius was ſet over the Comagenians, then firſt ſubjected to the juriſdiction of a Prætor.

From the affairs of the allies, thus all ſucceſsfully ſettled, Germanicus reaped no pleaſure, thro' the perverſeneſs and pride of Piſo, who was ordered to lead, by himſelf or his ſon, part of the Legions into Armenia, but contemptuouſly neglected to do either. They, at laſt, met at Cyrrum, the winter quarters of the tenth Legion, whither each came with a prepared countenance; Piſo to betray no fear, and Germanicus would not be thought to threaten. He was indeed, as I have obſerved, of a humane and reconcileable ſpirit: but, officious friends, expert at inflaming animoſi-

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ties, aggravated real offences, added fictitious, and with manifold imputations charged Piso, Plancina, and their sons. To this interview Germanicus admitted a few intimates, and began his complaints in such words as dissembled resentment usually dictates. Piso replied with disdainful submissions, and they parted in open enmity. Piso, hereafter, came rarely to the Tribunal of Germanicus; or, if he did, sate sternly there, and in manifest opposition. He likewise published his spite at a feast of the Nabathean Kings, where golden Crowns of great weight were presented to Germanicus and Agrippina; but to Piso and the rest, such as were light. 'This banquet, he said, was made for the son of 'a Roman prince, not of a Parthian Monarch.' With these words, he cast away his crown, and uttered many invectives against luxury. Sharp insults upon Germanicus! yet he bore them.

At this time arrived Ambassadors from Artabanus King of the Parthians. He sent them 'to repre-'sent the state of the mutual league and friendship 'between the two Empires, how desirous he was 'to renew it; that, in honour to Germanicus, he 'would come to receive him as far as the banks 'of the Euphrates; and requested, in the mean 'time, that Vonones might not be continued in 'Syria, lest, taking the advantage of so near a 'neighbourhood, he should, by corresponding with 'the Grandees of Parthia, ingage them in a civil 'dissention and rebellion.' The answer given by Germanicus, as far as related to the alliance of the Romans and Parthians, was conceived in terms of dignity and grandeur; but, of the coming of the King, and the court and veneration intended to himself, he spoke with becoming complaisance and modesty. Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia, a concession made, not to the request of Artabanus only, but in contumely

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to Piſo, with whom Venones was high in favour, for the aſſiduous court and many preſents by which he had won Plancina.

In the conſulſhip of Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus, Germanicus travelled to Ægypt, to view the famous Antiquities of the country; though for the motives of the journey, the care and inſpection of the province were publicly alledged: and, indeed, by opening the granaries, he mitigated the price of corn, and practiſed many things grateful to the people; walking without guards, his feet bare, and his habit the ſame with that of the Greeks; after the example of Publius Scipio, who, we are told, was conſtant in the ſame practices in Sicily, even during the rage of the Punic War there. For theſe his aſſumed manners and foreign habit, Tiberius blamed him in a gentle ſtile, but cenſured him with great aſperity for violating an eſtabliſhment of Auguſtus, and entring Alexandria without conſent of the Prince. For Auguſtus, amongſt other ſecrets of power, had ſet apart and appropriated Ægypt, and reſtrained the Senators and dignified Roman Knights from going thither without licence; as he apprehended that Italy might be diſtreſſed with famine, by any who ſeized that province, the key to the Empire by ſea and land, and defenſible by a light band of men againſt potent armies.

Germanicus, not yet informed that his journey was cenſured, ſailed up the Nile, beginning at Canopus, one of its mouths, built by the Spartans, as a monument to Canopus, a Pilot buried there, at the time when Menelaus, returning to Greece, was driven to different ſeas and the Libyan continent. Hence he viſited the next mouth of the river ſacred to Hercules. Him the natives aver to have been born amongſt them; that he was the moſt ancient of the name, and that all the reſt, who, with equal

virtues,

virtues, followed his example, were, in honour, called after him. Next he viſited the mighty antiquities of ancient Thebes, where, upon huge Obeliſks yet remained Ægyptian Characters, deſcribing its former opulency. One of the oldeſt Prieſts was ordered to interpret them; he ſaid they related 'that it once contained ſeven hundred thou-'ſand fighting men; that with that army King 'Rhamſes had conquered Libya, Ethiopia, the 'Medes and Perſians, the Bactrians and Scythians; 'and to his Empire had added the territories of 'the Syrians, Armenians, and their neighbours 'the Cappadocians; a tract of countries reaching 'from the ſea of Bithynia to that of Lycia.' Here alſo was read the aſſeſſment of Tribute laid on the ſeveral nations; what weight of ſilver and gold; what number of horſes and arms; what ivory and perfumes, as gifts to the Temples; what meaſures of grain; what quantities of all neceſſaries, were by each people paid; revenues equally grand with thoſe exacted by the domination of the Parthians, or by the Power of the Romans.

Germanicus was intent upon ſeeing other wonders. The chief were, the effigies of Memnon, a Coloſſus of ſtone, yielding, when ſtruck by the ſolar rays, a vocal ſound; the Pyramids riſing, like mountains, amongſt rolling and almoſt impaſſable waves of ſand, proud monuments of the emulation and opulency of Ægyptian Kings; the artificial Lake, a receptacle of the overflowing Nile; and elſewhere abyſſes of ſuch immenſe depth, that thoſe who tried, could never fathom. Thence he proceeded to Elphantina and Syene, two Iſlands, formerly frontiers of the Roman Empire, which is now widened to the Red-Sea.

Whilſt Germanicus ſpent this ſummer in ſeveral provinces, Druſus was ſowing feuds amongſt the Germans, and thence reaped no light renown; and,

as the power of Maroboduus was already broken, he engaged them to perſiſt and complete his ruin. Amongſt the Gotones was a young man of quality, his name Catualda, a fugitive long ſince from the violence of Maroboduus, but now, in his diſtreſs, reſolved on revenge. Hence, with a ſtout band, he entered the borders of the Marcomannians, and, corrupting their chiefs into his alliance, ſtormed the regal palace, and the caſtle ſituate near it. In the pillage were found the ancient ſtores of prey accumulated by the Suevians, as alſo many victuallers and traders from our provinces; men who were drawn hither from their ſeveral homes, firſt by privilege of traffic, then retained by a paſſion to multiply gain, and at laſt, through utter oblivion of their own country, fixed, like natives, in a hoſtile ſoil.

To Maroboduus, on every ſide forſaken, no other refuge remained but the mercy of Cæſar. He therefore paſſed the Danube where it waſhes the province of Norrica, and wrote to Tiberius, not however in the language of a fugitive or ſupplicant, but with a ſpirit ſuitable to his late grandeur; 'that many nations invited him to them, as a King 'once ſo glorious; but he preferred to all the 'friendſhip of Rome.' The emperor anſwered, 'that in Italy he ſhould have a ſafe and honourable 'retreat, and, when his affairs required his pre-'ſence, the ſame ſecurity to return.' But to the Senate he declared, 'that never had Philip of Ma-'cedon been ſo terrible to the Athenians; nor 'Pyrrhus, nor Antiochus to the Roman people.' The ſpeech is extant: in it he magnifies 'the 'greatneſs of the man, the fierceneſs and bravery 'of the nations his ſubjects; the alarming nearneſs 'of ſuch an enemy to Italy, and his own artful 'meaſures to deſtroy him.' Maroboduus was kept at Ravenna, for a check and terror to the Suevians;

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as if, when at any time they grew turbulent, he were there in readineſs to recover their ſubjection. Yet in eighteen years he left not Italy, but grew old in exile there; his renown too became eminently diminiſhed. Such was the price which he paid for an overpaſſionate love of life. The ſame fate had Catualda, and no other ſanctuary; he was ſoon after expulſed by the forces of the Hermundurians, led by Vibilius, and being received under the Roman protection, was conveyed to Forum Julium, a Colony in Narbon Gaul. The Barbarians, their followers, left, had they been mixed with the provinces, they might have diſturbed their preſent quiet, were placed beyond the Danube, between the rivers Marus and Cuſus, and for their King had aſſigned them Vannius, by nation a Quadian.

As ſoon as it was known at Rome, that Artaxias was by Germanicus given to the Armenians for their King, the fathers decreed to him and Druſus the leſſer Triumph. Triumphal arches were likewiſe erected, on each ſide the Temple of Mars *the Avenger*, ſupporting the ſtatues of theſe two Cæſars; and for Tiberius, he was more joyful to have eſtabliſhed peace by policy, than if by battles and victories he had ended the war. He therefore alſo aſſailed by the ways of craft Rheſcuporis a King of Thrace. That whole nation had been ſubject to Rhemetalces; but, upon his death, one moiety was by Auguſtus granted to Rheſcuporis his brother, and one to Cotys his ſon. In this partition, the vales, cities, and territories bounding upon Greece, fell to Cotys; to Rheſcuporis the wilds, the hills, and the parts expoſed to a hoſtile neighbourhood. The two Kings were likewiſe diſſonant in their genius, the former mild and agreeable; the latter cruel, rapacious, and impatient of equality. Yet, at firſt they lived in hollow friendſhip, but, in a while, Rheſcuporis began to break

bounds, to ſeize for himſelf the portions of Cotys, and, where he met reſiſtance, to exerciſe violence; cautiouſly, it is true, and by degrees, in the life of Auguſtus, to whoſe grant they owed both their Kingdoms; and, if his authority had been deſpiſed, his vengeance was dreaded. But, upon the change of Emperors, he poured in bands of robbers, demoliſhed forts, and thus ſought to provoke war.

Tiberius was about no conſideration of ſtate ſo anxious, as that things once ſettled ſhould never after be moleſted. He inſtantly diſpatched a Centurion to the two Kings, to forbid their proceeding to a deciſion by arms; and Cotys forthwith diſmiſſed the forces he had raiſed. Rheſcuporis feigned ſubmiſſion, and deſired an interview, 'for that by treaty, 'he ſaid, they might adjuſt all their differences:' and, upon the time, the place, and even upon the conditions, they quickly agreed, while one through eaſineſs, one through fraud, yielded and accepted every propoſition. Rheſcuporis, for a ſanction, as he pretended, to the league, added a banquet, and the feſtivity and drinking was prolonged till midnight, when Cotys, warm with wine and feaſting, and void of circumſpection, was ſuddenly loaded with chains, deprecating in vain the brutal treachery, 'by the inviolable rights of Kings, by the 'common Gods of their family, by that very ban-'quet of ſacred pledge of concord and hoſpitality.' Rheſcuporis, having now ſeized all Thrace, wrote to Tiberius, 'that bloody ſnares were contrived 'for him, but he had anticipated the contriver;' and, pretending a war againſt the Baſternæans and Scythians, fortified himſelf with new forces, horſe and foot.

He had a ſoft anſwer, 'that if he had practiſed 'no guile, he might ſecurely truſt to his inno-'cence; but, neither could he himſelf nor the 'Senate, without hearing the cauſe, diſtinguiſh be-

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'tween juſtice and violence: that therefore, delivering up Cotys, he ſhould come, and upon him effectually transfer the odium of the crime.' This letter Latinius Pandus, Proprætor of Meſia, tranſmitted to Thrace, by the ſoldiers ſent to receive Cotys. Rheſcuporis, wavering long between fear and rage, determined at laſt rather to be guilty of a finiſhed than an imperfect villainy: he cauſed Cotys to be murdered, and belied his death, as if by his own hands it had been procured. Neither yet did Tiberius change his favourite courſe of diſſembling, but, upon the death of Pandus, whom Rheſcuporis alledged to have been his enemy, preferred to the Government of Meſia Pomponius Flaccus, an ancient officer, one in cloſe friendſhip with the King, and by it more qualified to betray him; hence chiefly he was preferred.

Flaccus paſſed into Thrace, and, though he found him full of heſitation, and revolving with great diſmay upon the crying horror of his own wickedneſs, yet, by mighty promiſes, prevailed upon him to enter the Roman barrier. Here the King, on pretence of ſolemnity and honour, was ſurrounded with a ſtrong party, and a crowd of officers, who preſſed him by earneſt exhortations, and many arguments, and the further they travelled the more apparent to him was his confinement; ſo that at laſt, convinced of the neceſſity of going, he was by them haled to Rome. He was accuſed before the Senate by the wife of Cotys, and condemned to exile far from his Kingdom. Thrace was divided between Rhemetalces his ſon, who, it was manifeſt, had oppoſed all his father's outragious meaſures; and the ſons of Cotys. Theſe were minors, and placed with their Kingdom under the adminiſtration of Trebellienus Rufus, formerly Prætor, after the example of our Anceſtors, who ſent Marcus Lepidus into Ægypt, in quality of

guardian to the children of Ptolemy. Rheſcuporis was tranſported to Alexandria, and there ſlain, attempting flight, or falſely charged with it.

At the ſame time, Vonones, who had been removed, as I have above related, into Cilicia, corrupted his keepers, and endeavoured to eſcape to Armenia, thence to the Albanians and Heniochians, and then to his kinſman the King of Scythia. Thus pretending to hunt, and avoiding the maritime coaſts, he gained the devious receſſes of the foreſts; and then, on a ſudden, rode full ſpeed to the River Pyramus. But, the country-men, apprized of the King's flight, had broken the bridges; neither was the ſtream to be forded. Upon the banks therefore of the river, he was by Vibius Fronto, General of horſe, put in bonds, and preſently after, by Remmius, a reſumed Veteran, lately his keeper, run through, in affected wrath, with a ſword. Hence aroſe the ſtronger belief that, from conſciouſneſs of fraud, and dread of diſcovery, Vonones was ſlain.

Germanicus returning from Ægypt, learned that all his orders left with the Legions, and the Eaſtern cities, were either intirely aboliſhed, or contrary regulations eſtabliſhed; a ground for his ſevere reſentment and reproaches upon Piſo. Nor leſs keen were the efforts and machinations of Piſo againſt Germanicus. Yet Piſo afterwards determined to leave Syria, but was detained by the following illneſs of Germanicus. Again, when he heard of his recovery, and perceived that vows were paid for his reſtoration, the Lictors, by his command, broke the ſolemnity, drove away the victims, already at the altars, overturned the apparatus of the ſacrifice, and ſcattered the people of Antioch employed in celebrating the feſtival. He then departed to Seleucia, waiting the event of the malady, which had again aſſaulted Germanicus.

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His own perſuaſion too, that poiſon was given him by Piſo, heightened the cruel vehemence of the diſeaſe. Indeed, upon the floors and walls were found fragments of human bodies, the ſpoils of the grave, with charms and incantations, and the name of Germanicus graved on ſheets of lead, carcaſſes half burnt, beſmeared with gore, and other witchcrafts, by which ſouls are thought doomed to the infernal gods. Beſides, there were certain perſons, charged as creatures of Piſo, purpoſely ſent and employed to watch the progreſs and efforts of the diſeaſe.

Theſe things filled Germanicus with apprehenſions great as his reſentment. 'If his doors, he 'ſaid, were beſieged, if under the eyes of his 'enemies he muſt render up his ſpirit, what was 'to be expected to his unhappy wife, what to his 'infant children? The progreſs of poiſon was 'thought too ſlow. Piſo was impatient, and urg-'ing with eagerneſs to command alone the Le-'gions, to poſſeſs alone the province: but Germa-'nicus was not ſunk to ſuch lowneſs and impo-'tence, that the price of his murder ſhould remain 'with the murderer:' and by a Letter to Piſo, he renounced his friendſhip. Some add, that he commanded him to depart the province. Nor did Piſo tarry longer, but took ſhip, yet checked her ſailing, in order to return with the more quickneſs, ſhould the death of Germanicus the while leave the Government of Syria vacant.

Germanicus, after a ſmall revival, drooping again, when his end approached, ſpoke on this wiſe to his attending friends. 'Were I to yield to 'the deſtiny of nature, Juſt, even then, were my 'complaints againſt the Gods, for hurrying me 'from my parents, my children, and my country, 'by a haſty death, in the prime of life. Now, 'ſhortened in my courſe by the malignity of Piſo,

'and his wife, to your breaſts I commit my laſt 'prayers. Tell my father, tell my brother, with 'what violent perſecutions afflicted, with what 'mortal ſnares circumvented, I end a moſt miſe-'rable life by death of all others the worſt. All 'they whoſe hopes in my fortune, all they whoſe 'kindred blood, and even they whoſe envy, poſ-'ſeſſed them with impreſſions about me whilſt liv-'ing, ſhall bewail me dead, that once great in 'glory, and ſurviving ſo many wars, I fell at laſt 'by the dark devices of a woman. To you place 'will be left to complain in the Senate, place to 'invoke the aid and vengeance of the Laws. To 'commemorate the dead with ſlothful wailings, 'is not the principal office of friends: They are 'to remember his dying wiſhes, to fulfil his laſt 'deſires. Even ſtrangers will lament Germanicus. 'You are my friends; if you loved me rather than 'my fortune, you will vindicate your friendſhip. 'Shew the people of Rome my wife, her who is 'the grand-daughter of Auguſtus, and enumerate 'to them our offspring, even ſix children. Their 'compaſſion will ſurely attend you who accuſe; 'and the accuſed, if they pretend clandeſtine war-'rants of iniquity, will not be believed; if be-'lieved, not pardoned.' His friends, as a pledge of their fidelity, touching the hand of the dying Prince, ſwore that they would forego their lives ſooner than their revenge. Then turning to his wife, he beſought her, 'That in tenderneſs to his 'memory, in tenderneſs to their common children, 'ſhe would baniſh her haughty ſpirit, yield to her 'hoſtile fortune; nor, upon her return to Rome, 'by an impotent competition for ruling, irritate 'thoſe who were maſters of rule.' So much openly, and more in ſecret, whence he was believed to have warned her of guile and danger from Tiberius. Soon after he expired, to the heavy

ſorrow

ſorrow of the province, and of all the neighbouring countries; inſomuch that remote nations and foreign Kings were mourners: ſuch had been his complacency to our confederates; ſuch his humanity to his enemies! Alike venerable he was, whether you ſaw him, or heard him; and without ever departing from the grave port and dignity of his ſublime rank, he yet lived deſtitute of arrogance, and untouched by envy.

The funeral, which was performed without exterior pomp or a proceſſion of images, drew its ſolemnity from the loud praiſes and amiable memory of his virtues. There were thoſe who, from the lovelineſs of his perſon, his age, his manner of dying, and even from the proximity of places where both departed, compared him in the circumſtance of his fate, to the great Alexander; 'each of a graceful perſon, each of illuſtrious deſcent; in years neither much exceeding thirty; both victims to the malice and machinations of their own people, in the midſt of foreign nations; but Germanicus, gentle towards his friends, his pleaſures moderate, confined to one wife, all his children by one bed; nor leſs a warriour, though not ſo raſh, however hindred from a final reduction of Germany, broken by him in ſo many victories, and ready for the yoke. So that had he been ſole arbiter of things, had he acted with the Sovereignty and title of Royalty, he had eaſier overtaken him in the glory of conqueſts, as he ſurpaſſed him in clemency, in moderation, and in other virtues.' His body, before its commitment to the pile, was exhibited naked in the Forum of Antioch, the place where the pile was erected. Whether it bore the marks of poiſon, remained undecided: for people, as they were divided in their affections, as they pitied Germanicus, and preſumed the guilt of Piſo, or were partial to him, gave oppoſite accounts.

It was next debated amongſt the legates of the Legions, and the other Senators there, to whom ſhould be committed the adminiſtration of Syria: and, after the faint efforts of others, it was long diſputed between Vibius Marſus and Cneius Sentius. Marſus at laſt yielded to Sentius, the older man, and the more vehement competitor. By him one Martina, infamous in that province for Practices in poiſoning, and a cloſe confident of Plancina, was ſent to Rome, at the ſuit of Vitellius, Veranius, and others, who were preparing criminal articles againſt Piſo and Plancina, as againſt perſons evidently guilty.

Agrippina, though overwhelmed with ſorrow, and her body indiſpoſed, yet impatient of all delays to her revenge, imbarked with the aſhes of Germanicus, and her children, attended with univerſal commiſeration: 'That a Lady, in quality a Princeſs, wont to be beheld in her late ſplendid wedlock with applauſes and adorations, was now ſeen bearing in her boſom her huſband's funeral urn, uncertain of vengeance for him, and fearful for herſelf, unfortunate in her fruitfulneſs, and from ſo many children obnoxious to ſo many blows of fortune.' Piſo, the while, was overtaken at the Iſle of Cous by a meſſage, 'that Germanicus was deceaſed,' and received it intemperately, ſlew victims and repaired with thankſgiving to the Temples. Yet, however immoderate and undiſguiſed was his joy, more arrogant and inſulting proved that of Plancina, who immediately threw off her mourning, which for the death of a ſiſter ſhe wore, and aſſumed a dreſs adapted to gaiety and gladneſs.

About him flocked the Centurions with officious repreſentations, 'That upon him particularly were bent the affections and zeal of the Legions, and he ſhould proceed to reſume the province, at firſt injuriouſly taken from him, and now deſtitute of a Go-

'a Governor.' As he therefore conſulted what he had beſt purſue, his ſon Marcus Piſo adviſed, 'a ſpeedy journey to Rome. Hitherto, he ſaid, 'nothing paſt expiation, was committed; neither 'were impotent ſuſpicions to be dreaded; nor the 'idle blazonings of fame. His variance and con-'tention with Germanicus was, perhaps, ſubject 'to popular hate and averſion, but to no proſecu-'tion or penalty; and, by bereaving him of the 'province, his enemies were gratified. But if he 'returned thither, as Sentius would certainly op-'poſe him with arms, a civil war would thence be 'actually begun. Neither would the Centurions 'and ſoldiers perſiſt in his party, men with whom 'the recent memory of their late Commander, and 'an inveterate love to the Cæſars in general, were 'ſtill prevalent.'

Domitius Celer, one in intimate credit with Piſo, argued on the contrary, 'That the preſent event 'muſt by all means be improved; it was Piſo, and 'not Sentius, who had commiſſion to govern Sy-'ria; upon him were conferred the juriſdiction of 'Prætor, and the badges of Magiſtracy, and with 'him the Legions were intruſted. So that if acts 'of hoſtility were by his opponents attempted, with 'how much better warrant could he avow aſſum-'ing arms in his own right and defence, who was 'thus veſted with the authority of General, and 'acted under ſpecial orders from the Emperor. 'Rumours too were to be neglected, and left to pe-'riſh with time. In truth, to the ſallies and vio-'lence of recent hate, the innocent were often 'unequal. But were he once poſſeſſed of the Ar-'my, and had well augmented his forces, many 'things, not to be foreſeen, would from fortune 'derive ſucceſs. Are we then prepoſterouſly haſt-'ening to arrive at Rome with the aſhes of Ger-'manicus, that you may there fall, unheard and

'undefended, a victim to the wailings of Agrippina,
'a prey to the paſſionate populace governed by the
'firſt impreſſions of rumour? Livia, it is true, is
'your confederate, Tiberius is your friend; but
'both ſecretly: and indeed none will more pom-
'pouſly bewail the violent fate of Germanicus,
'than ſuch as do moſt ſincerely rejoice for it.'

Piſo, of himſelf prompt to violent purſuits, was with no great labour perſuaded into this opinion, and, in a Letter tranſmitted to Tiberius, accuſed Germanicus 'of luxury and pride; that for him-
'ſelf, he had been expulſed, to leave room for dan-
'gerous deſigns againſt the State, and now re-
'ſumed, with his former faith and loyalty, the
'care of the Army.' In the mean time he put Domitius on board a galley, and ordered him to avoid appearing upon the Coaſts or amongſt the Iſles, but, through the main ſea, to ſail to Syria. The deſerters, who from all quarters were flocking to him in crowds, he formed into companies, and armed all the retainers to the Camp; then ſailing over to the continent, intercepted a regiment of recruits, upon their march into Syria, and wrote to the ſmall Kings of Cilicia to aſſiſt him with preſent ſuccours. Nor was the younger Piſo ſlow in proſecuting all the meaſures of war, though to adventure a war had been againſt his ſentiments and advice.

As they coaſted Licia and Pamphylia, they encountered the ſhips which carried Agrippina, with hoſtile ſpirits on each ſide, and each at firſt prepared for combat; but as equal dread of one another poſſeſſed both, they proceeded not further than mutual contumelies. Vibius Marſus particularly ſummoned Piſo, as a criminal, to Rome, there to make his defence. He anſwered, with deriſion,
'That when the Prætor, who was to ſit upon poi-
'ſonings, had aſſigned a day to the accuſers and
'the accuſed, he would attend.' Domitius, the

while, landing at Laodicea, a city of Syria, would have proceeded to the winter-quarters of the ſixth Legion, which he believed to be the moſt prone to engage in novel attempts, but was prevented by Pacuvius, its commander. Sentius repreſented this by Letter to Piſo, and warned him, 'at his peril 'to infect the Camp by miniſters of corruption, 'or to aſſail the province by war,' and drew into a body ſuch as he knew loved Germanicus, or ſuch as were averſe to his foes. Upon them he inculcated with much ardour, that Piſo was with open arms attacking the majeſty of the Prince, and invading the Roman ſtate; and then marched at the head of a puiſſant body, equipped for battle, and reſolute to engage.

Neither failed Piſo, though his enterprizes had thus far miſcarried, to apply the ſecureſt remedies to his preſent perplexities, and therefore ſeized a Caſtle of Silicia ſtrongly fortified, its name Celendris. For, to the Auxiliary Cilicians, ſent him by the pretty Kings, he had joined his body of deſerters, as alſo the recruits lately intercepted, with all his own and Plancina's ſlaves; and thus in number and bulk, had of the whole compoſed a Legion. To them he thus harangued; 'I, who am the 'Lieutenant of Cæſar, am yet violently excluded 'from the province which to me Cæſar has com-'mitted; not excluded by the Legions, (for by 'their invitation I am arrived) but by Sentius, who 'thus diſguiſes, under feigned crimes againſt me, 'his own animoſity, and perſonal hate. But with 'confidence you may ſtand in battle, where the 'oppoſite army, upon the ſight of Piſo, a Com-'mander lately by themſelves ſtiled their *Father*, 'will certainly refuſe to fight; they know too, 'that were right to decide it, I am the ſtronger; 'and of no mean puiſſance in a trial at arms.' He then arrayed his men without the fortifications on a hill

hill ſteep and craggy, for all the reſt was begirt by the ſea. Againſt them ſtood the Veterans regularly embattled, and ſupported with a body of reſerve; ſo that here appeared the force of men, there only the terror and ſtubborneſs of ſituation. On Piſo's ſide was no ſpirit, no hope, nor even weapons, ſave thoſe of ruſtics, for inſtant neceſſity haſtily acquired. As ſoon as they came to blows, the iſſue was no longer doubtful than while the Roman Cohorts ſtruggled up the ſteep. The Cilicians then fled, and ſhut themſelves up in the Caſtle.

Piſo having the while attempted in vain to ſtorm the fleet, which rode at a ſmall diſtance, as ſoon as he returned, preſented himſelf upon the walls; where, by a ſucceſſion of paſſionate complaints and entreaties, now bemoaning in agonies the bitterneſs of his lot, then calling and cajoling every particular ſoldier by his name, and by rewards tempting all, he laboured to excite a ſedition; and thus much he had already effected, that the Eagle-bearer of the ſixth Legion revolted to him with his Eagle. This alarmed Sentius, and inſtantly he commanded the cornets and trumpets to ſound, a mount to be raiſed, the ladders placed, and the braveſt men to mount, and others to pour from the Engines volleys of darts, and ſtones, and flaming torches. The obſtinacy of Piſo was at laſt vanquiſhed; and he deſired, 'that, 'upon delivering his arms, he might remain in the 'Caſtle till the Emperor's pleaſure, to whom he 'would commit the Government of Syria, were 'known;' conditions which were not accepted, nor was ought granted him, ſave ſhips, and a paſſport to Rome.

After the illneſs of Germanicus became noiſed abroad there, and all its circumſtances, like rumours magnified by diſtance, were related with many aggravations, ſadneſs ſeized the people. They

burned

burned with indignation, and even poured out in plaints the anguiſh of their ſouls: 'For this, they 'ſaid, he had been baniſhed to the extremities of 'the empire, for this the province of Syria was 'committed to Piſo, and theſe the fruits of Livia's 'myſterious conferences with Plancina. Truly 'had our fathers ſpoken concerning his father Dru-'ſus, that the poſſeſſors of rule beheld with an 'evil eye the popular ſpirit of their ſons; nor for 'aught elſe were they ſacrificed, but for their equal 'treatment of the Roman people, and ſtudying to 'reſtore the popular ſtate.' Theſe lamentations of the populace were, upon the tidings of his death, ſo inflamed, that, without ſtaying for an Edict from the Magiſtrates, without a Decree of Senate, they by general conſent aſſumed a vacation; the public Courts were deſerted, private houſes ſhut up, prevalent every-where were the ſymptoms of woe, heavy groans, diſmal ſilence; the whole a ſcene of real ſorrow, and nothing deviſed for form or ſhew; and, though they forbore not to bear the exterior marks and habiliments of mourning, in their ſouls they mourned ſtill deeper. Accidentally ſome Merchants from Syria, who had left Germanicus ſtill alive, brought more joyful news of his condition. Theſe were inſtantly believed, and inſtantly proclaimed: each, as faſt as they met, informed others, who forthwith conveyed their light information with improvements, and accumulated joy, to more; all flew with exultation through the city, and, to pay their thanks and vows, burſt open the Temple doors. The night too heightened their credulity, and affirmation was bolder in the dark. Nor did Tiberius reſtrain the courſe of theſe fictions, but left them to vaniſh with time. Hence with more bitterneſs they afterwards grieved for him, as if anew ſnatched from them.

Honours

Honours were invented and decreed to Germanicus, various as the affections and genius of the particular Senators who propoſed them; 'that his 'name ſhould be ſung in the Salian Hymns; Cu-'rule Chairs placed for him amongſt the Prieſts 'of Auguſtus, and over theſe Chairs Oaken 'Crowns hung; his Statue in Ivory precede in the 'Circenſian games; none but one of the Julian 'race be, in the room of Germanicus, created 'Flamen or Augur:' Triumphal arches were added, one at Rome, one upon the banks of the Rhine, one upon mount Amanus in Syria, with inſcriptions of his exploits, and a teſtimony ſubjoined, 'that he died for the Commonwealth;' a Sepulchre at Antioch, where his corps was burnt; a tribunal at Epidaphne, the place where he ended his life. The multitude of ſtatues, the many places where divine honours were appointed to be paid him, would not be eaſily recounted. They would have alſo decreed him, as to one of the maſters of Eloquence, a golden ſhield, ſignal in bulk as in metal; but Tiberius offered 'to dedicate one him-'ſelf, ſuch as was uſual and of a like ſize with 'others; for that Eloquence was not meaſured by 'fortune; and it was ſufficiently glory, if he were 'ranked with ancient Writers.' The Battalion called after the name of the Junii, was now, by the Equeſtrian order, entitled the Battalion of Germanicus, and a rule made, that on every fifteenth of July, theſe troops ſhould follow, as their ſtandard, the effigies of Germanicus. Of theſe honours many continue, ſome were inſtantly omitted, or by time are utterly obliterated.

In the height of this public ſorrow, Livia, ſiſter to Germanicus, and married to Druſus, was delivered of male twins; an event even in middling families, rare and acceptable, and to Tiberius ſuch

mighty

mighty matter of joy, that he could not refrain boasting to the fathers, 'that to no Roman of the 'same eminence, before him, were ever two chil-'dren born at a birth.' For to his own glory he turned all things, even things fortuitous. But to the people, at such a sad conjuncture, it brought fresh anguish, as they feared that the family of Drusus, thus increased, would press heavy upon that of Germanicus.

The same year the lubricity of women was by the Senate restrained with severe laws; and it was provided, 'that no woman should become venal, 'if her father, grandfather or husband, were Ro-'man Knights.' For Vistilia, a Lady born of a Prætorian family, had, before the Ædiles, published herself a prostitute, upon a custom allowed by our ancestors, who thought that prostitutes were, by thus avowing their infamy, sufficiently punished. Titidius Labeo too was questioned, that in the manifest guilt of his wife, he had neglected the punishment prescribed by the law; but he alledged, that the sixty days allowed for consultation, were not elapsed; and it was deemed sufficient to proceed against Vistilia, who was banished to the Isle of Seriphos. Measures were also taken for exterminating the solemnities of the Jews and Ægyptians; and by decree of Senate four thousand descendants of franchised slaves, all tainted with that superstition, but of proper strength and age, were to be transported to Sardinia, to restrain the Sardinian robbers; and if, through the malignity of the climate, they perished, despicable would be the loss. The rest were doomed to depart Italy, unless by a stated day they renounced their profane rites.

After this, Tiberius represented, that, to supply the place of Occia, who had presided seven and fifty years with the highest sanctimony over the Vestals,

Veſtals, another Virgin was to be choſen, and thanked Fonteius Agripppa, and Aſinius Pollio, that, by offering their daughters, they contended in good offices towards the Commonwealth. Pollio's daughter was preferred, for nothing elſe but that her mother had ever continued in the ſame wedlock; for Agrippa, by a divorce, had impaired the credit of his houſe. Upon her who was poſtponed, Tiberius, in conſolation, beſtowed for her fortune a thouſand great ſeſterces *.

As the people murmured at the ſevere dearth of corn, he ſettled grain at a price certain, to the buyer, and undertook to pay fourteen-pence a meaſure to the ſeller. Neither yet would he accept the name of *Father of his Country*, a title offered him before, and for theſe bounties, now again; nay, he ſharply rebuked ſuch as ſtiled theſe proviſions of his, *divine occupations*, and him, *Lord*. Hence freedom of ſpeech became cramped and inſecure under ſuch a Prince, one who dreaded liberty, and abhorred flattery.

I find in the Writers of thoſe times, ſome of them Senators, that in the Senate were read Letters from Adgandeſtrius, Prince of the Cattians, undertaking to diſpatch Arminius, if in order to it poiſon were ſent him; and an anſwer returned, 'that not by 'frauds and blows in the dark, but armed, and in 'the face of the ſun, the Roman people took ven-'geance on their foes.' In this Tiberius gained equal glory with our ancient Captains, who rejected and diſcloſed a plot to poiſon King Pyrrhus. Arminius, however, who, upon the departure of the Romans, and expulſion of Maroboduus, aimed at Royalty, became thence engaged in a ſtruggle againſt the Liberty of his country, and, in defence

* Twenty-five thouſand Crowns.

of

of their Liberty, his countrymen took arms againſt him: So that, while with various fortune he contended with them, he fell by the treachery of his own kindred. The deliverer of Germany without doubt he was, one who aſſailed the Roman power, not like other Kings and Leaders, in its firſt elements, but in its higheſt pride and elevation; one ſometimes beaten in battle, but never conquered in war. Thirty-ſeven years he lived, twelve he commanded; and, amongſt theſe barbarous nations, his memory is ſtill celebrated in their ſongs, though his name be unknown in the Annals of the Greeks, who only admire their own national exploits and renown; nor, even amongſt the Romans, does this great Captain bear much diſtinction, while, overlooking inſtances of modern proweſs and glory, we only delight to magnify men and feats of old.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK III.

The SUMMARY.

Agrippina *returns to Italy with the aſhes and children of* Germanicus. *The paſſionate Zeal of the people towards her, and them, and his memory. His funeral; with the behaviour of* Tiberius *and* Livia, *on that occaſion.* Druſus *returns to Illyricum, as does* Piſo *to Rome, and is tried as the poiſoner of* Germanicus, *deſpairs of acquittal, and kills himſelf.* Tacfarinas *renews the war in Africa, and is repreſſed by* Apronius *the Proconſul there. The trial and condemnation of* Lepida Æmilia, *for adultery and poiſoning. The law* Papia Poppæa, *long abuſed, now reſtrained. Freſh commotions in Africa, by* Tacfarinas. Junius Blæſus *ſent to oppoſe him. Certain Roman Knights condemned upon the Law of Majeſty violated. Revolts in both Gauls, conducted by* Julius Sacrovir, *and* Julius Florus; *the iſſue tragical to the revolters, and their chiefs.* C. Lutorius,

torius, *a Roman Knight, condemned upon the Law of Majeſty, and executed in priſon. The cure of luxury attempted, and dropped.* Druſus *made partner with his father in the power Tribunitial. The Prieſt of* Jupiter, *not allowed to ballot for a Province. The Greek Sanctuaries, their claims, examined and reformed.* C. Silanus *condemned for bribery and treaſon.* Junius Blæſus *rou's* Tacfarinas, *and takes his brother priſoner.* Junia, *the illuſtrious ſiſter of the famous* Marcus Brutus, *and widow of* Caſſius, *her death and funeral.*

AGrippina, notwithſtanding the roughneſs of winter, purſuing without intermiſſion her boiſterous voyage, put in at the Iſland Corcyra, ſituated over-againſt the coaſts of Calabria. Here, to ſettle her ſpirit, ſhe ſpent a few days, violent in her grief, and a ſtranger to patience. Her arrival being the while divulged, all the particular friends to her family, moſtly men of the ſword, many who had ſerved under Germanicus, and even many ſtrangers, from the neighbouring towns, ſome in officiouſneſs towards the Emperor, more for company, crowded to the City of Brunduſium, the readieſt port in her way, and the ſafeſt landing. As ſoon as the fleet appeared in the deep, inſtantly were filled, not the port alone and adjacent ſhores, but the walls and roofs, and as far as the eye would go, filled with the ſorrowing multitude. They were conſulting one from one, how they ſhould receive her, landing, 'whether with univerſal ſilence, 'or with ſome note of acclamation.' Nor was it manifeſt which they would do, when the fleet ſailed ſlowly in, not, as uſual, with joyful ſailors and chearful oars, but all things impreſſed with the face of ſadneſs. After ſhe deſcended from the ſhip, accompanied with her two infants, carrying in her boſom the melancholy Urn, with her eyes caſt ſteddily

dily down; equal and univerſal were the groans of the beholders: nor could you diſtinguiſh relations from ſtrangers, nor the wailings of men from thoſe of women, unleſs that the new-comers, who were recent in their ſallies of grief, exceeded Agrippina's attendants, wearied out with long lamentations.

Tiberius had diſpatched two Prætorian Cohorts, with directions, that the Magiſtrates of Calabria, Apulia and Campania, ſhould pay their laſt offices to the memory of his ſon. Upon the ſhoulders therefore of the Tribunes and Centurions his aſhes were borne; before went the Enſigns, rough and unadorned, with the Faſces reverſed. As they paſſed through the Colonies, the populace were in black, the Knights in purple; and each place, according to its wealth, burnt precious rayment, perfumes, and whatever elſe is uſed in funeral ſolemnities. Even they whoſe cities lay remote, attended. To the Gods of the dead, they ſlew victims, they erected altars, and with tears and united lamentations, teſtified their common ſorrow. Druſus came as far as Terracina, with Claudius the brother of Germanicus, and thoſe of his children who had been left at Rome. The Conſuls Marcus Valerius and Marcus Aurelius (juſt then entered upon their office) the Senate, and great part of the people, filled the road; a ſcattered proceſſion, each walking and weeping his own way. In this mourning, flattery had no ſhare; for all knew how real was the joy, how hollow the grief of Tiberius for the death of Germanicus.

Tiberius and Livia avoided appearing abroad. Public lamentation they thought below their grandeur; or, perhaps, they apprehended that their countenances, examined by all eyes, might ſhew deceitful hearts. That Antonia, mother to the deceaſed, bore any part in the Funeral, I do not find either in the Hiſtorians or in the City Jour-

nals, though beſides Agrippina, and Druſus, and Claudius, his other relations are likewiſe there recorded by name; whether by ſickneſs ſhe was prevented; or, whether her ſoul, vanquiſhed by ſorrow, could not bear the repreſentation of ſuch a mighty calamity. I would rather believe her to have been conſtrained by Tiberius and Livia, who left not the palace; and, affecting equal affliction with her, would have it ſeem, that, by the example of the mother, the grandmother too and uncle were detained.

The day when his remains were repoſited in the Tomb of Auguſtus, various were the ſymptoms of public grief; now an awful ſilence, then an uproar of lamentation, the city in every quarter full of proceſſions, the field of Mars in a blaze of torches. Here the ſoldiers under arms, the Magiſtrates without the Inſignia, the people by their tribes, all cried in concert, that 'the Commonwealth was fallen, 'and henceforth there was no remain of hope;' ſo openly and boldly, that you would have believed they had forgot who bore ſway. But nothing pierced Tiberius more than the ardent affections of the people towards Agrippina, while they gave her ſuch titles as 'the ornament of her country, the 'only blood of Auguſtus, the ſingle inſtance of 'ancient virtue;' and, while applying to Heaven, they implored 'the continuance of her Iſſue, that 'they might ſurvive the perſecuting and malig-'nant.'

There were thoſe who miſſed the Pomp of a public Funeral, and compared with this the ſuperior honours and magnificence beſtowed by Auguſtus on that of Druſus the father of Germanicus; 'that he 'himſelf had travelled, in the ſharpneſs of win-'ter, as far as Pavia, and thence, continuing by 'the corps, had with it entered the city; round 'his head were placed the Images of the Claudii

'and

‘ and Julii; he was mourned in the Forum; his
‘ Encomium pronounced in the Roſtra's; all ſorts
‘ of honours, ſuch as were the inventions of our
‘ anceſtors, or the improvements of their poſterity,
‘ were heaped upon him. But to Germanicus
‘ were denied the ordinary Solemnities, and ſuch
‘ as were due to every diſtinguiſhed Roman. In a
‘ foreign country indeed, his corps, becauſe of the
‘ long journey, was burnt without pomp; but af-
‘ terwards, it was but juſt to have ſupplied the
‘ ſcantineſs of the firſt ceremony by the ſolemnity
‘ of the laſt. His brother met him but one day's
‘ journey, his uncle not even at the gate. Where
‘ were thoſe generous obſervances of the ancients,
‘ the Effigies of the dead borne on a bed, Hymns
‘ compoſed in memory of their virtue, with the
‘ Oblations of praiſes and tears? Where, at leaſt,
‘ were the ceremonies, and even outſide of ſor-
‘ row?’

All this was known to Tiberius; and, to ſup-preſs the diſcourſes of the populace, he publiſhed an Edict, ‘ that many illuſtrious Romans had died
‘ for the Commonwealth, but none ſo vehemently
‘ lamented; this, however, was to the glory of
‘ himſelf and of all men, if a meaſure were ob-
‘ ſerved. The ſame things which became private
‘ families and ſmall ſtates, became not Princes and
‘ an Imperial people. Freſh grief, indeed, re-
‘ quired vent and eaſe by lamentation; but, it was
‘ now time to recover and fortify their minds.
‘ Thus the deified Julius, upon the loſs of an on-
‘ ly daughter; thus the deified Auguſtus, upon
‘ the haſty death of his grandſons, had both van-
‘ quiſhed their ſorrow. More ancient examples
‘ were unneceſſary, how often the Roman people
‘ ſuſtained with conſtancy the ſlaughter of their
‘ Armies, the death of their Generals, and intire
‘ deſtruction of their nobleſt families. Princes were
‘ mortal,

'mortal, the Commonwealth was eternal. They 'ſhould therefore reſume their ſeveral vocations.' And, becauſe the Megalenſian Games were at hand, he added, 'that they ſhould even apply to 'the uſual feſtivities.'

The vacation ended, public affairs were reſumed; Druſus departed from the Army in Illyricum, and the minds of all men were bent upon ſeeing vengeance done upon Piſo. They repeated their reſentments, that while he wandered over the delightful countries of Aſia and Greece, he was ſtifling, by contumacious and deceitful delays, the evidences of his crimes; for it was bruited abroad, that Martina, ſhe who was famous for poiſonings, and ſent, as I have above related, by Cneius Sentius towards Rome, was ſuddenly dead at Brunduſium; that poiſon lay concealed in a knot of her hair, but upon her body were found no ſymptoms of ſelf-murder.

Piſo, ſending forward his ſon to Rome, with inſtructions how to ſoften the Emperor, proceeded himſelf to Druſus. Him he hoped to find leſs rigid for the death of a brother, than favourable for the removal of a rival. Tiberius, to make ſhew of a ſpirit perfectly unbiaſſed, received the young man graciouſly, and honoured him with the preſents uſually beſtowed on young Noblemen. The anſwer of Druſus to Piſo was, 'that if the current 'rumours were true, he ſtood in the firſt place of 'grief and revenge; but he hoped they were falſe 'and chimerical, and that the death of Germani-'cus would be pernicious to none.' This he declared in public, and avoided all privacy. Nor was it doubted but the anſwer was dictated by Tiberius, when a youth, otherwiſe eaſy and unwary, practiſed thus the wiles and cunning of age.

Piſo having croſſed the ſea of Dalmatia, and left his ſhips at Ancona, took firſt the road of Picenum,

num, and then the Flaminian way, following the Legion which was going from Pannonia to Rome, and thence to garriſon in Africa. This too became the ſubject of popular cenſure, that he officiouſly mixed with the ſoldiers, and courted them in their march and quarters. He therefore, to avoid ſuſpicion, or, becauſe when men are in dread, their conduct wavers, did at Narni embark upon the Nar, and thence ſailed into the Tiber. By landing at the burying place of the Cæſars, he heightened the wrath of the populace. Beſides, he and Plancina came aſhore in open day, in the face of the city, who were crowding the banks, and proceeded with gay countenances, he attended by a long band of Clients, ſhe by a train of Ladies. There were yet other provocations to hatred, the ſituation of his houſe, proudly overlooking the Forum, and adorned and illuminated as for a feſtival, the banquet and rejoicings held in it, all as public as the place.

The next day Fulcinius Trio arraigned Piſo before the Conſuls, but was oppoſed by Vitellius, Veranius, and others, who had accompanied Germanicus. They ſaid, ‘ that in this proſecution ‘ Trio had no part; nor did they themſelves act ‘ as accuſers, but only gathered materials, and, as ‘ witneſſes, produced the laſt injunctions of Ger- ‘ manicus.’ Trio dropped that accuſation, but ‘ got leave to call in queſtion his former life. And now the Emperor was deſired to undertake the Trial; a requeſt which the accuſed did not at all oppoſe, dreading the inclinations of the People and Senate. ‘ He knew Tiberius, on the contrary, re- ‘ ſolute in deſpiſing popular rumours, and in guilt ‘ confederate with his mother; beſides that truth ‘ and miſrepreſentations were eaſieſt diſtinguiſhed ‘ by a ſingle judge, but in aſſemblies odium and ‘ envy often prevailed.” Tiberius was aware of the

the weight of the Trial, and with what reproaches he was aſſaulted. Admitting therefore a few confidents, he heard the charge of the accuſers, as alſo the apology of the accuſed, and left the cauſe intire to the Senate.

Druſus returned the while from Illyricum; and, though the Senate had for the reduction of Maroboduus, and other his exploits the ſummer before, decreed him the Triumph of *Ovation*, he poſtponed the honour, and privately entered the city. Piſo, for his advcoates, deſired Titus Arruntius, Fulcinius, Aſinius Gallus, Eſerninus Marcellus, and Sextus Pompeius. But they all framed different excuſes; and he had, in their room, Marcus Lepidus, Lucius Piſo, and Liveneius Regulus. Now earneſt were the expectations of all men, 'how great would prove the fidelity of the friends 'of Germanicus; what the aſſurance of the cri-'minal, what the behaviour of Tiberius, whether 'he would ſufficiently ſmother, or betray his ſen-'timents.' He never had a more anxious part; neither did the people ever indulge themſelves in ſuch ſecret murmurs againſt their Emperor, nor harbour in ſilence ſeverer ſuſpicions.

When the Senate met, Tiberius made a ſpeech, full of laboured moderation, 'that Piſo had been 'his father's Lieutenant and friend, and lately ap-'pointed by himſelf, at the direction of the Senate, 'Coadjutor to Germanicus, in adminiſtering the 'affairs of the Eaſt. Whether he had there by 'contumacy and oppoſition exaſperated the young 'Prince, and exulted over his death, or wickedly 'procured it, they were then to judge with minds 'unprejudiced. For, if he who was the Lieutenant 'of my ſon, violated the limits of his commiſſion, 'caſt off obedience to his General, and even re-'joiced at his deceaſe, and at my affliction; I 'will deteſt the man, I will baniſh him from my

'houſe, and, for domeſtic injuries exert domeſtic
'revenge, not the revenge of an Emperor. But
'for you; if his guilt of any man's death whatſo-
'ever, be diſcovered, ſhew your juſt vengeance,
'and by it ſatisfy yourſelves, ſatisfy the children of
'Germanicus, and us his father, and grand-mother.
'Conſider too eſpecially whether he viciated the
'diſcipline, and promoted ſedition in the Army,
'whether he ſought to debauch the affections of
'the ſoldiers, and to recover the province by arms;
'or whether theſe allegations are not publiſhed
'falſly and with aggravations by the accuſers, with
'whoſe over-paſſionate zeal I am juſtly offended.
'For, whither tended the ſtripping the corps, and
'expoſing it to the eyes and examination of the
'populace; with what view was it proclaimed,
'even to foreign nations, that his death was the
'effect of poiſon, if all this was ſtill doubtful, and
'remains yet to be tried? It is true, I bewail my
'ſon, and ſhall ever bewail him. But neither do
'I hinder the accuſed to do what in him lies to
'manifeſt his innocence, even at the expence of
'Germanicus, if ought blameable was in him.
'From you I intreat the ſame impartiality; let not
'the connexion of my ſorrow with this cauſe, miſ-
'lead you to take crimes for proved, becauſe they
'are imputed. For Piſo; if the tenderneſs of
'kinſmen, if the faith of friends, has furniſhed
'him with patrons, let them aid him in his peril,
'ſhew their utmoſt eloquence, and exert their beſt
'diligence. To the ſame pains, to the ſame firm-
'neſs I exhort the accuſers. Thus much, out of
'the common courſe, we will grant to the me-
'mory of Germanicus, that the inqueſt concerning
'his death, be held rather here than in the Forum,
'in the Senate than in the common Tribunals.
'In all the reſt, we will deſcend to the ordinary
'methods. Let no man in this cauſe conſider

'Druſus's

'Druſus's tears; let none regard my ſorrow, no 'more than the probable fictions of calumny againſt 'us.'

Two days were then appointed for maintaining the charge, ſix for preparing the defence, and three for making it. Fulcinius began with things ſtale and impertinent, about the ambition and rapine of Piſo in his adminiſtration of Spain; things which, though proved, brought him under no penalty, if acquitted of the preſent charge; nor, though he had been cleared of former faults, could he eſcape the load of greater enormities. After him Serveus, Veranius and Vitellius, all with equal zeal, but Vitellius, with great Eloquence, urged, 'That Piſo, 'in hatred to Germanicus, and paſſionate for in-'novations, had, by tolerating general licenciouſ-'neſs, and the oppreſſion of the Allies, corrupted 'the common ſoldiers to that degree, that by the 'moſt profligate he was ſtiled *Father of the Legions*. 'He had, on the contrary, been outrageous to the 'beſt men, above all to the friends and companions 'of Germanicus, and, at laſt, by witchcraft and 'poiſon deſtroyed Germanicus himſelf; hence the 'infernal charms and immolations practiſed by him 'and Plancina. He had then attacked the Com-'monwealth with open arms; and, before he 'could be brought to be tried, they were forced to 'fight and defeat him.'

In every article but one his defence was faltering. For, neither his dangerous intrigues in debauching the ſoldiery, nor his abandoning the province to the moſt profligate and rapacious, nor even his inſults to Germanicus, were to be denied. He ſeemed only to wipe off the charge of poyſon; a charge which in truth was not ſufficiently corroborated by the accuſers, ſince they had only to alledge, 'that 'at an entertainment of Germanicus, Piſo, while 'he ſat above him, with his hands poiſoned the

'meat.' It appeared abſurd, that, amongſt ſo many attending ſlaves beſides his own, in ſo great a preſence, and under the eye of Germanicus, he would attempt it. He himſelf required that the waiters might be racked, and offered to the rack his own domeſtics. But the Judges were implacable, from different motives, Tiberius for the war raiſed in the province; and the Senate could never be convinced that the death of Germanicus was not the effect of fraud. Some moved for the Letters written to Piſo from Rome, a motion oppoſed by Tiberius no leſs than by Piſo. From without, at the ſame time, were heard the cries of the people, 'that if he eſcaped the judgment of the Senate, 'they would with their own hands deſtroy him.' They had already dragged his Statues to the place from whence Malefactors were precipitated, and there had broken them; but by the orders of Tiberius they were reſcued and replaced. Piſo was put into a litter and carried back by a Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort; an attendance variouſly underſtood, whether that officer was intended as a guard for his ſafety, or a miniſter of death.

Plancina was under equal public hatred, but had more ſecret favour; hence it was doubted how far Tiberius durſt proceed againſt her. For herſelf; while her huſband's hopes were yet plauſible, ſhe profeſſed that 'ſhe would accompany his fortune 'whatever it were, and if he fell, fall with him.' But when, by the ſecret ſollicitations of Livia, ſhe had ſecured her own pardon, ſhe began by degrees to drop her huſband, and to make a ſeparate defence. After this fatal warning, he doubted whether he ſhould make any further efforts; but, by the advice of his ſons, fortifying his mind, he again entered the Senate. There he found the proſecution renewed, ſuffered the declared indignation of the fathers, and ſaw all things croſs and terrible;

but

but nothing ſo much daunted him as to behold Tiberius, without mercy, without wrath, cloſe, dark, unmoveable, and bent againſt every acceſs of tenderneſs. When he was brought home, as if he were preparing for his further defence the next day, he wrote ſomewhat, which he ſealed and delivered to his Freedman. He then waſhed and anointed, and took the uſual care of his perſon. Late in the night, his wife leaving the chamber, he ordered the door to be ſhut, and was found, at break of day, with his throat cut, his ſword lying by him.

I remember to have heard from ancient men, that in the hands of Piſo was frequently ſeen a bundle of writings, which he did not expoſe, but which, as his friends conſtantly averred, 'contained the 'Letters of Tiberius, and his cruel orders towards 'Germanicus; that he reſolved to lay them before 'the Fathers, and to charge the Emperor, but was 'deluded by the hollow promiſes of Sejanus; and 'that neither did Piſo die by his own hands, but 'by thoſe of an expreſs and private executioner.' I dare affirm neither; nor yet ought I to conceal the relations of ſuch as ſtill lived when I was a youth. Tiberius, with an aſſumed air of ſadneſs, complained in the Senate, that Piſo, by that ſort of death, had aimed to load him with obloquy, and aſked many queſtions, how he had paſt his laſt day, how his laſt night? The Freedman anſwered to moſt with prudence, to ſome in confuſion. The Emperor then recited the Letter ſent him by Piſo. It was conceived almoſt in theſe words; 'Oppreſſed 'by a combination of my enemies, and the impu-'tation of falſe crimes, ſince no place is left here 'to truth and my innocence; to the immortal 'Gods I appeal, that towards you, Cæſar, I have 'lived with ſincere faith, nor towards your mother 'with leſs reverence. For my ſons, I implore her 'protection and yours; my ſon Cneius had no

'ſhare in my late management, whatever it were,
'ſince, all the while, he abode at Rome. My
'ſon Marcus diſſuaded me from returning to Syria.
'Oh that, old as I am, I had yielded to him, ra-
'ther than he, young as he is, to me! Hence,
'more paſſionately, I pray, that innocent as he is,
'he ſuffer not in the puniſhment of my guilt. By
'a ſeries of ſervices for five and forty years, I en-
'treat you, by our former fellowſhip in the Con-
'ſulſhip, by the memory of the deified Auguſtus,
'your father, by his friendſhip to me, by mine to
'you, I entreat you for the life and fortune of my
'unhappy ſon. It is the laſt requeſt which I ſhall
'ever make you.' Of Plancina he ſaid nothing.

Tiberius, upon this, cleared the young man of any crime as to the Civil War; he alledged 'the 'orders of his father, which a ſon a could not diſ-'obey.' He likewiſe bewailed 'that noble houſe, 'and even the grievous lot of Piſo himſelf, how-'ever deſerved.' For Plancina he pleaded with ſhame and guilt, alledging the importunity of his mother, againſt whom more particularly the ſecret murmurs of the beſt people waxed bitter and poignant. 'Was it then the tender part of a grand-'mother to admit to her ſight the murdereſs of her 'grandſon, to be intimate with her, and to ſnatch 'her from the vengeance of the Senate? To Ger-'manicus alone was denied what by the Laws was 'granted to every Citizen. By Vitellius and Ve-'ranius, the cauſe of that Prince was mourned 'and pleaded; by the Emperor and his mother, 'Plancina was defended and protected. Hence-'forth ſhe might purſue her infernal arts, ſo ſuc-'ceſsfully tried, repeat her poiſonings, and by her 'arts and poiſons aſſail Agrippina and her children, 'and, with the blood of that moſt miſerable houſe, 'ſatiate the worthy grand-mother and uncle.' In this Mock-Trial two days were waſted; Tiberius,

all

all the while, animating the ſons of Piſo to defend their mother. When the pleaders and witneſſes had vigorouſly puſhed the charge, and no reply was made, commiſeration prevailed over hatred. The Conſul Aurelius Cotta was firſt aſked his opinion; for, when the Emperor collected the voices, the Magiſtrates likewiſe voted. Cotta's ſentence was, 'That the name of Piſo ſhould be 'razed from the Annals, part of his eſtate for-'feited, part granted to his ſon Cneius, upon 'changing that name; his ſon Marcus ſhould be 'diveſted of his dignity, and, content with fifty 'thouſand great ſeſterces, be baniſhed for ten years; 'and to Plancina, at the requeſt of Livia, in-'demnity ſhould be granted.'

Much of this ſentence was abated by the Emperor, particularly that of ſtriking Piſo's name out of the Annals, when 'that of Marc Anthony, who 'made war upon his country, that of Julius An-'tonius, who had by adultery violated the houſe 'of Auguſtus, continued ſtill there.' He alſo exempted Marcus Piſo from the ignominy of degradation, and left him his whole paternal inheritance; for, as I have already often obſerved, he was incorruptible by any temptations of money, and from the ſhame of having acquitted Plancina, rendered then more than uſually mild. He likewiſe withſtood the motion of Valerius Meſſalinus, 'for 'erecting a golden Statue in the Temple of Mars 'the Avenger,' and that of Cæcina Severus, 'for 'founding an Altar to Revenge.' Such Monuments 'as theſe, he argued, were only fit to be 'raiſed upon foreign victories; domeſtic evils were 'to be buried in ſadneſs.' Meſſalinus had added, 'That to Tiberius, Livia, Antonia, Agrippina 'and Druſus, public thanks were to be rendered 'for having revenged the death of Germanicus;' but had omitted to mention Claudius. Meſſalinus

was aſked by Lucius Aſprenas, in the preſence of the Senate, 'whether by deſign he had omitted 'him?' and then at laſt the name of Claudius was ſubjoined. To me, the more I revolve the events of late or of old, the more of mockery and ſlipperineſs appears in all human wiſdom, and the tranſactions of men; for, in popular fame, in the hopes, wiſhes and veneration of the public, all men were rather deſtined to the Empire, than he for whom fortune then reſerved the ſovereignty in the dark.

A few days after, Vitellius, Veranius and Serveus, were by the Senate preferred to the honours of the Prieſthood, at the motion of Tiberius. To Fulcinius he promiſed his intereſt and ſuffrage towards preferment, but adviſed him 'not to em-'baraſs his Eloquence by impetuoſity.' This was the end of revenging the Death of Germanicus, an affair ambiguouſly related, not by thoſe only who then lived and intereſted themſelves in it, but likewiſe in following times; ſo dark and intricate are all the higheſt tranſactions, while ſome hold for certain facts, the moſt precarious hearſays, others turn facts into falſhood, and both are ſwallowed and improved by the credulity of poſterity. Druſus went now without the City, there to renew the ceremony of the Auſpices, and preſently re-entred in the Triumph of *Ovation*. A few days after died Vipſania his mother, of all the children of Agrippa, the only one who made a pacific end; the reſt manifeſtly periſhed, or are believed to have periſhed, by the ſword, poiſon, and famine.

The ſame year, Tacfarinas, whom I have mentioned to have been the former ſummer defeated by Camillus, renewed the war in Africa, firſt by roving devaſtations, ſo ſudden that they eſcaped unchaſtiſed; next he ſacked towns, and bore away mighty plunder; at laſt he begirt a Roman Cohort, a ſmall diſtance from the river Pagida. It was a fort com-

manded

manded by Decrius, a brave ſoldier, exerciſed in war, and now touched with the ignominy of ſuch a ſiege. Encouraging therefore his men to offer open battle, he drew them up without the walls. At the firſt ſhock the Cohort was repulſed; but the reſolute Decrius braved the enemies darts, oppoſed the runaways, and upbraided the ſtandard-bearers, 'that, upon vagabonds, and undiſciplined 'robbers, the Roman ſoldiers turned their backs.' He had already received ſeveral wounds, and his eye was beat out, but ſtill faced the foe, nor ceaſed fighting, till, wholly deſerted by his men, he at laſt was ſlain.

Lucius Apronius had ſucceeded Camillus. As ſoon as he learnt this defeat, piqued rather by the infamy of his own men, than the glory of the enemy, he practiſed an exemplary ſeverity, at this time rare, but agreeable to ancient diſcipline, by executing with a club every tenth man of that ignominious Cohort, drawn by lot. Such too was the effect of this rigour, that thoſe very forces of Tacfarinas, as they beſieged the fortreſs of Thala, were routed by a ſquadron of five hundred Veterans. In this battle Rufus Helvius, a common ſoldier, acquired the glory of ſaving a Citizen, and was by Apronius preſented with the Spear and Collar. Tiberius added the Civic Crown, complaining, rather than reſenting, that Apronius had not in right of Proconſul, granted that alſo. Tacfarinas, now his Numidians were diſmayed, and bent againſt ſieges, made a deſultory war, flying when attacked, and, upon a retreat, aſſaulting the rear. As long as the African obſerved this method, he, with impunity to himſelf, mocked and haraſſed the Romans; but after he drew down to the maritime places, the allurements and quantities of plunder confined him to his Camp. Hither Apronius Ceſianus was, by his father, diſpatched with the cavalry and auxiliary

Cohorts, to which was added a detachment of the beſt Legionary foot; and, having ſucceſsfully fought the Numidians, drove them back to the deſarts.

At Rome the while, Emilia Lepida, who, beſides the nobleneſs of the Emilian family, was great grand-daughter to Pompey and Sylla, was charged with impoſing a falſe birth upon Publius Quirinius her huſband, a man rich and childleſs. The charge was ſwelled with 'adulteries, poiſonings, and treaſonable dealings with the Chaldeans about the fate and continuance of the Imperial houſe.' Her brother Manius Lepidus defended her; and, guilty and infamous as ſhe was, the perſecution from her huſband (continued after their divorce) drew compaſſion upon her. In this Trial, it was no eaſy matter to diſcover the heart of Tiberius, with ſuch ſubtlety he mixed and ſhifted the ſymptoms of indignation and clemency. At firſt, he beſought the Senate, 'not to meddle with the articles of treaſon;' and preſently engaged Marcus Servilius, once Conſul, and the other witneſſes, to produce the very evidences of treaſon which he would have appeared deſirous to ſuppreſs. Yet he took the ſlaves of Lepida from the guard of ſoldiers, and ſurrendered them to the Conſuls; nor would he ſuffer them to be examined by torture, as to her practices againſt himſelf; he even excuſed Druſus from voting firſt, as Conſul elect. This ſome underſtood as an inſtance of complaiſance, 'that the reſt might not 'be obliged to follow the example of Druſus.' Some aſcribe it to cruelty, 'for that only with deſign to have her condemned, that conceſſion was 'made.'

The public Games interrupted the Trial, and in the receſs, Lepida, accompanied with other Ladies of great quality, entered the Theatre. There, with doleful lamentations, invoking her illuſtrious anceſtors, eſpecially the great Pompey, whoſe ſtatues

ſtood

ſtood round in view, the Theatre itſelf a monument of his raiſing, ſhe exited ſuch univerſal commiſeration, that the Spectators burſt into tears; and uttering cruel and direful imprecations againſt Quirinius, declared their indignation, 'That to his 'childleſs old age, and mean blood, ſhould be 'given a Lady once deſigned for the wife of Lu-'cius Cæſar, and for the daughter-in-law of the 'deified Auguſtus.' At laſt, by racking her ſlaves, her crimes were made manifeſt, and the judgment of Rubellius Blandus prevailed, for interdicting her from fire and water. To this judgment Druſus aſſented, though others had propoſed a milder. That her eſtate ſhould not be forfeited, was granted to Scaurus, who by her had had a daughter. And now, after condemnation, Tiberius advertiſed the Senate, that 'from the ſlaves too of Quirinius he 'had learnt her attempts to poiſon him.'

As a conſolation to the illuſtrious Families of Rome, for their late calamities (for the *Calpurnian* houſe had ſuffered the loſs of Piſo, and, juſt after, the *Emilian* houſe that of Lepida) Decius Silanus was now reſtored to the *Junian* family. I will briefly recite his diſgrace. As againſt the Republic, the fortune of Auguſtus was prevalent, ſo, in his family, it was unhappy, by the lewdneſs of his daughter and grand-daughter, whom he turned out of Rome, and with death or exile puniſhed their adulterers. For, to a fault common between men and women, he gave the heinous name of ſacrilege and treaſon; and thence had a colour for departing from the tenderneſs of our anceſtors, and for violating his own laws. But I ſhall hereafter relate the fate of others from this his ſeverity, as alſo the other tranſactions of that time, if, having finiſhed my preſent undertaking, life remains for other ſtudies. Silanus, who had viciated the grand-daughter of Auguſtus, though he felt no higher in-

indignation than to be excluded from the friendſhip and preſence of the Emperor, yet underſtood this as a denunciation of baniſhment; nor durſt he, till the reign of Tiberius, ſupplicate the Prince and Senate for leave to return; and then only truſted to the prevailing credit of his brother Marcus Silanus, diſtinguiſhed by his illuſtrious quality, and eminent for his great Eloquence. Marcus having returned thanks to Tiberius, had this anſwer before the Senate; 'That he himſelf alſo rejoiced that his 'brother was returned from travels ſo long and re-'mote; that his return home was perfectly unex-'ceptionable, ſince neither by decree of Senate, 'nor by any ſentence of law had he been driven 'thence; that to himſelf however ſtill remained 'intire the reſentments of his father towards him; 'nor by the return of Silanus were the purpoſes of 'Auguſtus violated.' Thenceforward he remained in Rome, but diſtinguiſhed by no preferment in the State.

The qualifying of the Law Papia Poppea was afterwards propoſed; a Law, which, to enforce thoſe of Julius Cæſar, Auguſtus had made when he was old, for puniſhing Celibacy, and enriching the Exchequer. Nor even by this means had marriages and children multiplied, while a paſſion to live ſingle and childleſs ſtill prevailed. But, in the mean time, the numbers threatened and in danger by it, increaſed daily, while by the gloſſes and chicane of the impleaders every family was undone. So that, as before the city laboured under the weight of crimes, ſo now under the peſt of laws. From this thought I am led backwards to the firſt riſe of Laws, and to open the ſteps and cauſes by which we are arrived to the preſent number and exceſs, a number infinite and perplexed.

The firſt race of men, free as yet from every depraved paſſion, lived without guile and crimes,

and

and therefore without chaſtiſements and reſtraints; nor was there occaſion for rewards, when of their own accord they purſued righteouſneſs; and as they courted nothing contrary to juſtice, they were debarred from nothing by terrors. But, after they had abandoned their original equality, and from modeſty and ſhame to do evil, proceeded to ambition and violence, Lordly dominion was introduced, and arbitrary rule, and in many nations grew perpetual. Some, either from the beginning, or after they were ſurfeited with Kings, preferred the ſovereignty of Laws, which, agreeably to the artleſs minds of men, were at firſt ſhort and ſimple. The laws in moſt renown were thoſe framed for the Cretans by Minos, for the Spartans by Lycurgus; and afterwards ſuch as Solon delivered to the Athenians, now greater in number, and more exquiſitely compoſed. To the Romans juſtice was adminiſtred by Romulus according to his pleaſure. After him, Numa managed the people by religious devices, and laws divine. Some inſtitutions were made by Tullus Hoſtilius, ſome by Ancus Martius; but above all our laws were thoſe founded by Servius Tullius, ſuch laws as even our Kings were bound to obey.

Upon the expulſion of Tarquin, the people, for the ſecurity of their freedom againſt the encroachment and factions of the Senate, and for binding the public concord, prepared many ordinances. Hence were created the Decemviri, and by them were compoſed the twelve Tables, out of a collection of the moſt excellent inſtitutions found abroad. This was the period of all upright and impartial Laws. What laws followed, though ſometimes made againſt crimes and offenders, were yet chiefly made by violence, through the animoſity of the two Eſtates, and for ſeizing unjuſtly withholden offices, or for baniſhing illuſtrious Patriots, and to other wicked

wicked ends. Hence the Gracchi and Saturnini, inflamers of the people; and hence Livius Druſus vying, on behalf of the Senate, in popular conceſſions with theſe inflamers, whence our Italian Allies were firſt corrupted and animated with fair promiſes, then by the oppoſition of other Demagogues diſappointed and deceived. Neither during the War of Italy, nor during the Civil War, was the making of regulations diſcontinued; many and contradictory were even then made. At laſt Sylla the Dictator, changing or aboliſhing the paſt, added many of his own, and procured ſomer eſpite in this matter, but not long; for preſently followed the turbulent purſuits and propoſals of Lepidus, and ſoon after were the Tribunes reſtored to their licentious authority of throwing the people into combuſtions at pleaſure. And now Laws were not made for the public only, but, for particular men, particular laws; and, corruption abounding in the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth abounded in laws.

Pompey was now, in his third Conſulſhip, choſen to correct the public enormities, and his remedies proved to the State more grievous than its diſtempers. He made Laws, ſuch as ſuited his ambition, and broke them when they thwarted his will, and loſt by arms the regulations which by arms he had procured. Henceforward for twenty years civil diſcord raged, and there was neither law nor ſettlement; the moſt wicked found impunity in the exceſs of their wickedneſs, and many virtuous men in their uprightneſs met deſtruction. At length, Auguſtus Cæſar, in his ſixth Conſulſhip, then confirmed in power without a rival, aboliſhed the orders which during the Triumvirate he had eſtabliſhed, and gave us laws proper for peace and a ſingle ruler. Theſe laws had ſanctions ſeverer than any heretofore known; as their guardians, Informers were appointed, who by the Law Papia Poppea

were encouraged with rewards, to watch ſuch as neglected the privileges annexed to marriage and fatherhood, and conſequently could claim no legacy or inheritance, the ſame, as vacant, belonging to the Roman people, who were the public parent. But theſe Informers ſtruck much deeper; by them the whole City, all Italy, and the Roman Citizens in every part of the Empire, were infeſted and perſecuted; numbers were ſtripped of their intire fortunes, and terror had ſeized all, when Tiberius, for a check to this evil, choſe twenty Noblemen, five who were formerly Conſuls, five who were formerly Prætors, with ten other Senators, to review that law. By them many of its intricacies were explained, its ſtrictneſs qualified; and hence ſome preſent alleviation was yielded.

Tiberius, about this time, recommended to the Senate Nero, one of the ſons of Germanicus, now ſeventeen years of age, and deſired, 'that he might 'be exempted from executing the office of the Vi-'gintivirate, and have leave to ſue for the Quæſtor-'ſhip five years ſooner than the laws directed.' A piece of mockery this requeſt to all who heard it; but Tiberius pretended, 'that the ſame con-'ceſſions had been decreed to himſelf, and his 'brother Druſus, at the requeſt of Auguſtus.' Nor do I doubt but there were then ſuch who ſecretly ridiculed that ſort of petitions from Auguſtus. Such policy was however natural to that Prince, then laying the foundations of the Imperial power, and while the Republic and its late laws were ſtill freſh in the minds of men. Beſides, the relation was lighter between Auguſtus and his wife's ſons, than between a grandfather and his grandſons. To the grant of the Quæſtorſhip was added a ſeat in the College of Pontifs; and the firſt day he entered the Forum in his manly robe, a donative of corn and money was diſtributed to the populace, who

exulted

exulted to behold a ſon of Germanicus now of age. Their joy was ſoon heightened by his marriage with Julia, the daughter of Druſus. But as theſe tranſactions were attended with public applauſes, ſo the intended marriage of the daughter of Sejanus with the ſon of Claudius was received with popular indignation. By this alliance the nobility of the Claudian houſe ſeemed ſtained, and by it Sejanus, already ſuſpected of aſpiring views, was exalted ſtill higher.

At the end of this year died two great and eminent men, Lucius Voluſius, and Salluſtius Criſpus. The family of Voluſius was ancient, but, in the exerciſe of public office, roſe never higher than the Prætorſhip; it was he who honoured it with the Conſulſhip. He was likewiſe created Cenſor, for modelling the claſſes of the Equeſtrian Order, and firſt accumulated the wealth which raiſed that family beyond all meaſure. Criſpus was born of an Equeſtrian houſe, great nephew by a ſiſter to Caius Salluſtius, the renowned Roman Hiſtorian, and by him adopted. The way to the great offices was open to him; but, in imitation of Mæcenas, he lived without the dignity of Senator, yet outwent in power many who were diſtinguiſhed with Conſulſhips and triumphs. His manner of living, his dreſs and daintineſs, were different from the ways of antiquity, and, in expence and affluence, he bordered rather upon luxury. He poſſeſſed, however, a vigour of ſpirit, equal to great affairs, and exerted the greater promptneſs, for that he hid it in a ſhew of indolence and ſloth. He was therefore, in the life-time of Mæcenas, the next in favour, afterwards chief confident in all the ſecret Counſels of Auguſtus and Tiberius, and aſſenting to the order for ſlaying Agrippa Poſthumus. In his old age he preſerved with the Prince rather the outſide than the vitals of authority. The ſame

had

had happened to Mæcenas. Such is the lot of power, rarely perpetual, perhaps from ſatiety on both ſides, when Princes have no more to grant, and Miniſters no more to crave.

Next followed the Conſulſhip of Tiberius and Druſus, to Tiberius the fourth, to Druſus the ſecond; a Conſulſhip remarkable, for that in it the father and ſon were Colleagues. There was indeed the ſame fellowſhip between Tiberius and Germanicus, two years before; but, beſides the diſtaſtes of jealouſy in the uncle, the ties of blood were not ſo near. In the beginning of the year, Tiberius, on pretence of his health, retired to Campania, either already meditating a long and perpetual retirement, or to leave to Druſus, in his father's abſence, the honour of executing the Conſulſhip alone. And there happened a thing which, ſmall in itſelf, yet as it produced mighty conteſtation, furniſhed the young Conſul with matter of popular affection. Domitius Corbulo, formerly Prætor, complained to the Senate of Lucius Sylla, a noble youth, 'that in the ſhew of Gladiators, 'Sylla would not yield him place.' Age, domeſtic cuſtom, and the ancient men were for Corbulo. Mamercus Scaurus, Lucius Arruntius, and others, laboured for their kinſman Sylla. Warm ſpeeches were made, and the examples of our anceſtors were urged, 'who by ſevere decrees had 'cenſured and reſtrained the irreverence of the 'youth.' Druſus interpoſed with arguments proper for calming animoſities, and Corbulo had ſatisfaction made him by Scaurus, who was both father-in-law and uncle to Sylla, and the moſt copious Orator of that age. The ſame Corbulo, exclaiming againſt 'the condition of moſt of the 'roads through Italy, that through the fraud of 'the undertakers, and negligence of the civil offi-'cers, they were broken and unpaſſable;' undertook

took of his own accord the cure of that abuſe; an undertaking which he executed, not ſo much to the advantage of the public, as to the ruin of many private men in their fortunes and reputation, by his violent mulcts, and unjuſt judgments and forfeitures.

Soon after Tiberius by Letter acquainted the Senate, 'That by the incurſions of Tacfarinas 'there were freſh commotions in Africa, and that 'they muſt chuſe a Proconſul, one of military ex-'perience, vigorous, and equal to that war.' Sextus Pompeius, taking this occaſion to diſcharge his hate againſt Marcus Lepidus, reproached him 'as 'daſtardly, indigent, a ſcandal to his anceſtors, 'and therefore to be diveſted even of the Govern-'ment of Aſia, his province by lot.' The Senate oppoſed him; they thought Lepidus a man rather mild than ſlothful, and that, as in his narrow fortune bequeathed to him, but not impaired by him, he ſupported his quality without blemiſh, he merited honour rather than contumely. He was therefore ſent to Aſia. Concerning Africa, it was decreed, that the appointment of a Governor ſhould be left to the Emperor.

During theſe tranſactions, Cæcina Severus propoſed, 'That no Magiſtrate ſhould go into any 'province accompanied by his wife.' He introduced this motion with a long preface, 'that he 'lived with his own in perfect concord, by her he 'had ſix children, and what he offered to the pub-'lic he had practiſed himſelf, having during forty 'years ſervice, left her ſtill behind him, confined 'to Italy. It was not indeed, without cauſe, eſta-'bliſhed of old, that women ſhould neither be car-'ried by their huſbands into confederate nations, 'nor into foreign. A train of women introduced 'luxury in peace, by their fears retarded war, and 'made a Roman army reſemble, in their march,

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'a mixed hoſt of Barbarians. The ſex was not 'tender only and unfit for travel, but, if ſuffered, 'cruel, aſpiring, and greedy of authority; they 'even marched amongſt the ſoldiers, and were 'obeyed by the officers. A woman had lately 'preſided at exerciſes of the troops, and at the de-'curſions of the Legions. The Senate themſelves 'might remember, that as often as any of the 'Magiſtrates were charged with plundering the 'provinces, their wives were always charged with 'much guilt. To the Ladies the moſt profligate 'in the province ever applied, by them all affairs 'were undertaken, by them tranſacted; at home 'two diſtinct courts were kept, and abroad the 'wife had her diſtinct train and attendants. The 'Ladies too iſſued diſtinct orders, but more impe-'rious, and better obeyed. Such feminine exceſſes 'were formerly reſtrained by the Oppian and other 'Laws, but now theſe reſtraints were violated, 'women ruled all things, their families, the Fo-'rum and Tribunals, and even the armies.'

This ſpeech was heard by few with approbation, and many proclaimed their diſſent, 'for that nei-'ther was that the point in debate, nor was Cæ-'cina conſiderable enough to cenſure ſo weighty 'an affair.' He was preſently anſwered by Vale-rius Meſſalinus, who was the ſon of Meſſala, and inheriting a ſparkling of his father's Eloquence: 'that many rigorous inſtitutions of the ancients 'were ſoftened and changed for the better. For 'neither was Rome now, as of old, beſet with 'wars, nor Italy with hoſtile provinces; hence a 'few conceſſions were made to the conveniences 'of women, who were ſo far from burdening 'the provinces, that to their own huſbands there 'they were no burden. As to honours, atten-'dants, and expence, they enjoyed them in com-'mon with their huſbands, who could receive no

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'embarraſſment from their company in time of peace. 'To war, indeed, we muſt go equipped and unincumbered; but after the fatigues of war, what was more allowable than the conſolations of a wife? But it ſeemed, the wives of ſome Magiſtrates had given a looſe to ambition and avarice: And were the Magiſtrates themſelves free from theſe exceſſes? Were not moſt of them governed by many exorbitant appetites? Did we therefore ſend none into the provinces? It was added, that the huſbands were corrupted by their corrupt wives; Were therefore all ſingle men uncorrupt? 'The Oppian Laws were once thought neceſſary, becauſe the exigencies of the State required their ſeverity; they were afterwards relaxed and mollified, becauſe that too was expedient for the State. In vain we covered our own ſloth with borrowed names; if the wife broke bounds, the huſband ought to bear the blame. It was moreover unjuſtly judged, for the weak and uxorious ſpirit of one or a few, to bereave all others of the fellowſhip of their wives, the natural partners of their proſperity and diſtreſs. Beſides, the ſex, weak by nature, would be left defenceleſs, expoſed to the luxurious bent of their native paſſions, and to the ſeduction of adulterers. Scarce under the eye and reſtraint of the huſband, was the marriage-bed preſerved inviolate; what muſt be the conſequence, when, by an abſence of many years, the ties of marriage would be forgot, as it were, in a divorce? It became them therefore, ſo to cure the evils abroad, as not to forget the enormities at Rome.' To this Druſus added ſomewhat concerning his own wedlock. 'Princes, he ſaid, were frequently obliged to viſit the remote parts of the Empire; how often did the deified Auguſtus travel to the Eaſt, how often to the Weſt, ſtill accompanied with Livia? He

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'himſelf too had taken a progreſs to Illyricum, 'and if it were expedient, was ready to viſit other 'nations; but not always with an eaſy ſpirit, if 'he were to be torn from his dear wife, her by 'whom he had ſo many children.' Thus was Cæcina's motion eluded.

When the Senate met next, they had a Letter from Tiberius. In it he affected indirectly to chide the fathers, 'that upon him they caſt all public 'cares,' and named them M. Lepidus and Junius Bleſus, to chooſe either for Proconſul of Africa. They were then both heard as to this nomination, and Lepidus excuſed himſelf with earneſtneſs, pleaded 'his bodily frailty, the tender age of his 'children, and a daughter fit for marriage.' There was another reaſon too, of which he ſaid nothing, but it was eaſily underſtood, even that Bleſus was uncle to Sejanus, and therefore had the prevailing intereſt. Bleſus too made a ſhew of refuſing, but not with the like poſitiveneſs, and moreover, was heard with partiality by the flatterers of power.

Now at laſt broke out a grievance which had lain hitherto ſmothered in the uneaſy minds of men. The Statues of the Emperor were become ſanctuaries to every profligate, who, by laying hold on theſe Statues, had aſſumed the inſolence of venting with impunity their invectives and hatred againſt worthy men. Even ſlaves and freedmen were thence grown terrible to their maſters, and wantonly inſulted and threatned them. Againſt this abuſe it was argued by Caius Seſtius, the Senator, 'that Princes were indeed the repreſenta-'tives of the Gods, but by the Gods juſt petitions 'only were heard, nor did any one betake him-'ſelf to the Capitol, or the Temples of Rome, 'that under their ſacred ſhelter he might exerciſe 'villanies. The laws were aboliſhed, and finally 'overturned, if a criminal convict could, in the

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'public Forum, nay, at the door of the Senate, 'aſſault her proſecutor with invectives and me-'naces; Yet thus had Annia Rufilla aſſaulted him, 'ſhe whom he had got judicially condemned for 'forgery; neither durſt he ſeek relief from the 'law, for that ſhe protected herſelf with the Em-'peror's Statue.' Much the ſame reaſoning was offered by others: ſome aggravated the offence with greater bitterneſs, and beſought Druſus to ſhew an exemplary inſtance of vengance; ſo that ſhe was ſummoned, convicted of the charge, and by his command committed to the common priſon.

Conſidius Equus too, and Celius Curſor, Roman Knights, were at the motion of Druſus, puniſhed by a decree of Senate, for forging a charge of treaſon againſt the Prætor Magius Cæcilianus. From this their puniſhment and that of Rufilla, Druſus reaped popular praiſe, 'that by him, liv-'ing thus ſociably at Rome, and frequenting the 'public aſſemblies, the dark ſpirit and deſigns of 'his father were ſoftened.' Neither did the luxury, in which the young Prince lived, give much offence. 'Let him, it was ſaid, be rather thus imployed, 'his days in ſhews and acts of popularity, his 'nights in banqueting, than in diſmal ſolitude, 'withdrawn from public gaiety, worried with in-'ceſſant diſtruſts, and foſtering black deſigns.'

For neither was Tiberius nor the impleaders yet tired with accuſations. Ancharius Priſcus had accuſed Cæſius Cordus, Proconſul of Crete, of robbing the public, with an additional charge of high treaſon, a charge which at that time was the main bulwark of all accuſations. Antiſtius Vetus, a Nobleman of the firſt rank in Macedonia, had been tried for adultery, and abſolved. This offended Tiberius, who reproached the Judges, and recalled him to be tried for treaſon, as a diſturber of

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the public, and confederate with the late King Rhescuporis, when having slain his brother Cotys, he meditated war against us. So that Vetus was condemned, and interdicted from fire and water. To this sentence it was added, 'that he should be 'confined to an island, neither in the neighbour-'hood of Macedon nor of Thrace.' For, upon the division of that Kingdom between Rhemetalces and the sons of Cotys, who being children, had for their guardian Trebellienus Rufus, the Thracians, not used to our Government, waxed discontented and tumultuous; nor did they less censure Rhemetalces than Trebellienus, for leaving unpunished the violences done them. The Cœletæans, Odrysœans, and other very powerful nations, took arms, under distinct Captains, but all equal in meanness and incapacity. For this reason, their armies were not united, nor the war terrible. Some committed ravages at home, others traversed Mount Hæmus, to engage in the insurrection the distant provinces. The greatest part, and best appointed, besieged Philippopolis, (a City founded by Philip of Macedon) and in it King Rhemetalces.

Publius Velleius, who commanded the army in the neighbouring province, when he heard of these commotions, dispatched parties of horse and light foot, some against those who roamed about for plunder, some against such as rambled from place to place to sollicit succours; he himself led the body of the Infantry to raise the siege. These several enterprizes were at once successfully executed, the rovers were cut off; divisions arose amongst the besiegers, and the King fortunately sallied, just as the Roman forces arrived. This gang of Thracians deserve not the name of an army, nor this rout to be called a battle, where vagabonds half-armed were slaughtered, without blood on our side.

The ſame year the Cities of Gaul, ſtimulated by their exceſſive debts, began a Rebellion. The moſt vehement incendiaries were Julius Florus, and Julius Sacrovir, the firſt amongſt thoſe of Treves, the ſecond amongſt the Eduans. They were both of diſtinguiſhed nobility, both deſcended from anceſtors, who had done ſignal ſervices to the Roman State, and thence acquired of old the right of Roman Citizens, a privilege rare in thoſe days, and only the prize of virtue. When by ſecret meetings they had gained thoſe who were moſt prompt to rebel, with ſuch as were deſperate through indigence, or, from guilt of paſt crimes, forced to commit more, they agreed that Florus ſhould begin the inſurrection in Belgia, Sacrovir amongſt the neighbouring Gauls. They therefore had many conſultations and cabals, where they ſpared no topic of ſedition, 'their tribute without end, their 'devouring uſury, the pride and cruelty of their 'Governors, the diſcord that had ſeized the Ro-'man ſoldiery ſince the report of the murder of 'Germanicus; a glorious conjuncture for redeem-'ing their Liberty, if they would only conſider 'their own happineſs and ſtrength, while Italy 'was poor and exhauſted, the Roman populace 'weak and unwarlike, the Roman armies deſtitute 'of all vigour, but that derived from foreigners.'

Scarce one City remained untainted with the ſeeds of this Rebellion, but it firſt broke out at Angiers and Tours. The former were reduced by Acilius Aviola, a Legate, with the aſſiſtance of a Cohort drawn from the garriſon at Lions. Thoſe of Tours were ſuppreſſed by the ſame Aviola, aſſiſted with a detachment ſent from the Legions, by Viſellius Varro, Lieutenant-Governor of lower Germany. Some of the Chiefs of the Gauls had likewiſe joined him with ſuccours, the better to diſguiſe their defection, and to puſh it with more

effect

effect hereafter. Even Sacrovir was beheld engaged in fight for the Romans, with his head bare, *a demonſtration*, he pretended, *of his bravery*; but, the priſoners averred, 'that he did it to be known 'to his country-men, and to eſcape their darts.'

An account of all this was laid before Tiberius, who ſlighted it, and by heſitation foſtered the war. Florus the while puſhed his deſigns, and tried to perſuade a Regiment of horſe, levied at Treves, and kept under our pay and diſcipline, to begin the war, by putting to the ſword the Roman Merchants; and ſome few were corrupted by him, but the body remained in their allegiance. A rabble however of his followers and deſperate debtors, took arms, and were making to the Foreſt of Arden, when the Legions, ſent from both armies by Viſellius and Caius Silius, through different routs to intercept them, marred their march. Julius Indus too, one of the ſame country with Florus, at enmity with him, and therefore more eager to engage him, was diſpatched forward with a choſen band, and broke the ill-appointed multitude. Florus, by lurking from place to place, fruſtrated the ſearch of the conquerors; at laſt, when he ſaw all the paſſes beſet with ſoldiers, he fell by his own hands. This was the iſſue of the inſurrection at Treves.

Amongſt the Eduans the revolt was as much ſtronger, as the ſtate was more opulent, and the forces to ſuppreſs it were to be brought from afar. Auguſtodunum, the capital of the nation, was ſeized by Sacrovir, and in it all the noble youth of Gaul, who were there inſtructed in the Liberal Arts. By ſecuring theſe pledges, he aimed to bind in his intereſt their parents and relations, and at the ſame time diſtributed to the young men the arms which he had cauſed to be ſecretly made. He had forty thouſand men, the fifth part armed like our Legions, the reſt with poles, hangers, and

other weapons uſed by hunters. To the number were added ſuch of the ſlaves as had been appointed to be Gladiators, covered, after the faſhion of the country, with a continued armour of iron, and ſtiled *Crupellarii*, a ſort of militia, unweildy at exerciſing their own weapons, and impenetrable by thoſe of others. Theſe forces were ſtill increaſed by voluntiers from the neighbouring cities, where, though the public body did not hitherto avow the revolt, yet the zeal of particulars was manifeſt. They had likewiſe leiſure to increaſe from the contention of the two Roman Generals; a contention for ſome time undecided, while each demanded the command in that war. At length Varro, old and infirm, yielded to the ſuperior vigour of Silius.

Now, at Rome, 'not only the inſurrection of 'Treves and of the Eduans, but likewiſe, that 'threeſcore and four cities of Gaul had revolted, 'that the Germans had joined in the revolt, and 'that Spain fluctuated,' were reports, all believed with the uſual aggravations of fame. The beſt men grieved in ſympathy for their country; many, from hatred of the preſent government, and thirſt of change, rejoiced in their own perils. They inveighed againſt Tiberius, 'that, in ſuch a mighty 'uproar of rebellion, he was only employed in 'peruſing the informations of the State-Accuſers.' They asked, 'Did he mean to ſurrender Julius 'Sacrovir to the Senate, to try him for treaſon?' They exulted, that there were at laſt found men, who would with arms reſtrain his bloody Letters (to the Senate) continually demanding condemnations and executions; and declared, 'that even 'war was a happy change for a moſt wretched and 'calamitous peace.' So much the more for this, Tiberius affected to appear wrapt up in ſecurity and unconcern; he neither changed place nor countenance,

tenance, but behaved himſelf at that time as at other times, whether from elevation of mind, or whether he had learnt that the ſtate of things was not alarming, and only heightened by vulgar repreſentation.

Silius the while ſending forward a band of Auxiliaries, marched with two Legions, and ravaged the villages of the Sequanians, next neighbours to the Eduans, and their aſſociates in arms. He then advanced towards Auguſtodunum, a haſty march, the Standard-bearers mutually vying in expedition, and the common men breathing ardour and eagerneſs, 'that no time might be waſted even in the uſual 'refreſhments, none of their nights in ſleep; let 'them only ſee and confront the foe; they wanted 'no more to be victorious.' Twelve miles from Auguſtodunum Sacrovir appeared with his forces upon the plains: in the front he had placed the iron troop, his Cohorts in the wings, the half-armed in the rear; he himſelf, upon a fine horſe, attended by the other chiefs, addreſſing himſelf to them from rank to rank; reminded them 'of the 'glorious atchievements of the ancient Gauls; of 'the victorious miſchiefs they had brought upon 'the Romans; of the liberty and renown attending victory; of their redoubled and intolerable 'ſervitude, if once more vanquiſhed.'

A ſhort ſpeech, and diſheartened audience! For, the embattled Legions approached, and the crowd of townſmen, ill-appointed and novices in war, ſtood aſtoniſhed, bereft of the preſent uſe of eyes and hearing. On the other ſide, Silius, though he preſumed the victory, and thence might have ſpared exhortations, yet called to his men, 'That they 'might be with reaſon aſhamed, that they, the 'Conquerors of Germany, ſhould be thus led 'againſt a rabble of Gauls as againſt an equal 'enemy; one Cohort had newly defeated the rebels

'of Tours, one Regiment of horſe thoſe of Treves;
'a handful of this very army had routed the Se-
'quanians. The preſent Eduans, the more they
'abound in wealth, the more they wallow in vo-
'luptuouſneſs, are ſo much the more ſoft and un-
'warlike: this is what you are now to prove, and
'your taſk to prevent their eſcape.' His words were returned with a mighty cry. Inſtantly the horſe ſurrounded the foe, the foot attacked their front, and the wings were preſently routed. The iron-band gave ſome ſhort obſtruction, as the bars of their coats withſtood the ſtroaks of ſword and pike; but the ſoldiers had recourſe to their hatchets and pick-axes, and, as if they had battered a wall, hewed their bodies and armour; others with clubs, and ſome with forks, beat down the helpleſs lumps, who, as they lay ſtretched along, without one ſtruggle to riſe, were left for dead. Sacrovir fled firſt to Auguſtodunum, thence, fearful of being ſurrendered, to a neighbouring town, accompanied by his moſt faithful adherents; there he ſlew himſelf, and the reſt one another, having firſt ſet the town on fire, by which they were all conſumed.

Now at laſt Tiberius wrote to the Senate about this war, and, at once, acquainted them with its riſe and concluſion, neither aggravating facts nor leſſening them; but added, 'That it was con-
'ducted by the fidelity and bravery of his Lieu-
'tenants, guided by his counſels.' He likewiſe aſſigned the reaſons why neither he, nor Druſus, went to that war; 'That the Empire was an
'immenſe body, and it became not the dignity of
'a Prince, upon the revolt of one or two com-
'munities, to deſert the capital, whence motion
'was derived to the whole. But now, ſince he
'could not be thought conducted by any dread of
'thoſe nations, he would take a progreſs to viſit
'and ſettle them.' The Senate decreed vows and

ſup-

ſupplications for his return, with other cuſtomary honours. Only Cornelius Dolabella, while he ſtrove to outdo others, fell into ridiculous ſycophancy, by propoſing, 'That returning from Campania he ſhould enter Rome in the Triumph of *Ovation*.' This occaſioned a Letter from Tiberius, in which he declared, 'That he was not ſo 'deſtitute of glory, that after having in his youth 'ſubdued the fierceſt nations, and enjoyed or 'ſlighted ſo many Triumphs, he ſhould now in his 'old age ſeek empty honours from a ſhort progreſs 'about the ſuburbs of Rome.'

About the ſame time he deſired of the Senate, that 'the corps of Sulpitius Quirinus might be 'diſtinguiſhed with a public Funeral.' Qurinius was born at Lanuvium, a Municipal town, and no wiſe related to the ancient Patrician family of the Sulpitii, but being a brave ſoldier, was, for his vigorous military ſervices to Auguſtus, rewarded with the Conſulſhip, and ſoon after with a Triumph, for driving the Homonades out of their ſtrongs holds in Cilicia. Next, when the young Caius Cæſar was ſent to ſettle the affairs of Armenia, Quirinus was appointed his Governor, and at the ſame time paid all court to Tiberius, then in his retirement at Rhodes. This the Emperor repreſented now to the Senate, extolled the kind offices of Quirinus, and branded Marcus Lollius as the author of the perverſe behaviour of Caius Cæſar to himſelf, and of all the jarring between them. In other inſtances the memory of Quirinus was not acceptable to the Senate, for his deadly perſecution againſt Lepida, above recited, and for his prevailing power and avarice in his old age.

At the end of the year, Caius Lutorius Priſcus, a Roman Knight, who had compoſed a celebrated Poem, bewailing the death of Germanicus, and

received a reward from Tiberius, was attacked by an informer. His charge was, 'That during an 'illneſs of Druſus, he had compoſed another, which, 'if the diſtemper proved mortal, he hoped to pub-'liſh with a reward ſtill greater.' This Poem Lutorius had, in the fulneſs of vanity and oſtentation, rehearſed at the houſe of Publius Petronius, in the preſence of Vitellia, mother-in-law to Petronius, and of other Ladies of quality, who were all ſummoned by the impleader, and all, except Vitellia, were terrified into a confeſſion; ſhe alone perſiſted that ſhe had heard nothing. But the evidence tending to deſtroy him had moſt credit, and it was the ſentence of Haterius Agrippa, Conſul elect, that death ſhould be his puniſhment.

This was oppoſed by M. Lepidus, who ſpoke on this wiſe. 'Conſcript fathers, if we only re-'gard, with what abominable effuſions Lutorius 'Priſcus has defiled his own ſoul, and the ears of 'men, neither dungeon, nor rope, nor indeed the pu-'niſhments peculiar to ſlaves, are ſufficient for him. 'But though wickedneſs and enormities abound 'without meaſure, yet ſince in coercions and pe-'nalties, we muſt obſerve the limits ſet by the 'moderation of the Prince, ſet by precedents made 'by our anceſtors and yourſelves; and ſince we 'muſt diſtinguiſh the vanity of the head from the 'malignity of the heart, and words from evil 'doings; there is room left for a middle judgment, 'by which neither his offence need eſcape un-'puniſhed, nor we repent of our tenderneſs or ſe-'verity. I have often heard our Prince complain, 'when any criminal had, by a deſperate death, 'prevented his mercy. The life of Lutorius is 'ſtill untouched; to ſave it, will no wiſe endan-'ger the State, nor will the taking it away have 'any influence upon others. His ſtudies, as they 'are full of wildneſs, are likewiſe empty and pe-'riſhing;

'riſhing; neither is aught important or terrible to 'be apprehended from one who thus betrays his 'own follies, and makes his court not to the minds 'of men, but the imaginations of women. Let 'him, however, be expelled Rome, interdicted 'from fire and water, and his eſtate be forfeited; 'which judgment of mine is the ſame as if he were 'charged with high treaſon.'

Of all the Conſulars, only Rubellius Blandus aſſented to this opinion of Lepidus; the reſt voted with Agrippa. Priſcus was led to the dungeon, and inſtantly put to death. Tiberius, in a Letter to the Senate, diſcanted upon this proceeding, with his uſual doubles and ambiguities, magnified 'their 'tenderneſs and zeal in avenging thus with ſeverity 'even ſuch ſlight injuries done to the Prince;' entreated them, 'not to be ſudden in puniſhing for 'words;' he praiſed Lepidus, and cenſured not Agrippa. Hence an order was made, 'that the 'degrees of Senate ſhould not in leſs than ten 'days be carried to the Exchequer, and to the 'condemned ſo much time ſhould be granted.' But to the Senate remained no liberty of reviſal or annulling; nor was Tiberius ever ſoftened by time.

Caius Sulpitius and Decimus Haterius were the following Conſuls. Their year was exempt from diſturbances abroad, but at home ſome ſevere blow was apprehended againſt luxury, which prevailed monſtrouſly in all things that create a profuſion of money. But as the more pernicious articles of expence were covered by concealing their prices, therefore from the exceſſes of the table, which were become the common ſubject of daily animadverſion, apprehenſions were raiſed of ſome rigid correction from a Prince who obſerved himſelf the ancient parcimony. For, Caius Bibulus having begun the complaint, the other Ædiles took it up,

and argued, 'That the ſumptuary laws were de-
'ſpiſed, the pomp and expence of plate and enter-
'tainments, in ſpite of reſtraints, increaſed daily,
'and by moderate penalties were not to be ſtopped.'
This grievance thus repreſented to the Senate, was by them referred intire to the Emperor. Tiberius having long weighed with himſelf whether ſuch an abandoned propenſity to prodigality could be ſtemmed, whether the ſtemming it would not bring heavier evils upon the public, how diſhonourable it would be to attempt what could not be effected, or at leaſt effected by the diſgrace of the nobility, and by the ſubjecting illuſtrious men to infamous puniſhments, wrote at laſt to the Senate in this manner:

'In other matters, Conſcript Fathers, perhaps
'it might be more expedient for you to conſult
'me in the Senate, and for me to declare there
'what I judge for the public weal; but in the de-
'bate of this affair, it was beſt that my eyes were
'withdrawn, leſt, while you marked the counte-
'nances and terror of particulars charged with
'ſcandalous luxury, I too ſhould have obſerved
'them, and as it were, caught them in it. Had
'the vigilant Ædiles firſt aſked counſel of me, I
'know not whether I ſhould not have adviſed
'them rather to have paſſed by potent and invete-
'rate corruptions, than only make it manifeſt,
'what enormities are an over-match for us. But
'they, in truth, have done their duty, as I would
'have all other Magiſtrates fulfil theirs. But, for
'myſelf, it is neither commendable to be ſilent,
'nor does it belong to my ſtation to ſpeak out;
'ſince I neither bear the character of an Ædile,
'nor of a Prætor, nor of a Conſul. Something
'ſtill greater and higher is required of a Prince.
'Every one is ready to aſſume to himſelf the credit
'of whatever is well done, while upon the Prince
'alone

'alone are thrown the miſcarriages of all. But 'what is it that I am firſt to prohibit, what ex-'ceſs retrench to the ancient ſtandard? Am I to 'begin with that of our country ſeats, ſpacious 'without bounds; and with the number of do-'meſtics, a number diſtributed into nations in 'private families? or with the quantity of plate, 'ſilver, and gold? or with pictures, and the works, 'and ſtatues of braſs, the wonders of art? or with 'the gorgeous veſtments, promiſcuouſly worn by 'men and women? or with what is peculiar to the 'women, thoſe precious ſtones, for the purchaſe 'of which our coin is carried into foreign and ho-'ſtile nations? I am not ignorant that at entertain-'ments and in converſation, theſe exceſſes are 'cenſured, and a regulation is required. Yet if an 'equal Law were made, if equal penalties were 'preſcribed, theſe very cenſurers would loudly com-'plain,' "That the State was utterly overturned, "that ſnares and deſtruction were prepared for "every illuſtrious houſe, that no man could be "guiltleſs, and all men would be the prey of in-"formers." 'And yet bodily diſeaſes grown in-'veterate and ſtrengthened by time, cannot be 'checked but by medicines rigid and violent; it is 'the ſame with the ſoul, the ſick and raging ſoul, 'itſelf corrupted and ſcattering its corruption, is 'not to be qualified but by remedies equally ſtrong 'with its own flaming luſts. So many Laws made 'by our anceſtors, ſo many added by the deified 'Auguſtus, the former being loſt in oblivion, and '(which is more heinous) the latter in contempt, 'have only ſerved to render luxury more ſecure. 'When we covet a thing yet unforbidden, we 'are apt to fear that it may be forbidden; but 'when once we can with impunity and defiance 'over-leap prohibited bounds, there remain after-'wards nor fear nor ſhame. How therefore did

'Parcimony prevail of old? It was becauſe every
'one was a Law to himſelf, it was becauſe we
'were then only maſters of one City; nor after-
'wards, while our dominion was confined only to
'Italy, had we found the ſame inſtigations to vo-
'luptuouſneſs. By foreign Conqueſts we learned
'to waſte the property of others, and in the Civil
'Wars to conſume our own. What a mighty
'matter is it that the Ædiles remonſtrate! how
'little to be weighed in the balance with others?
'It is wonderful that no body repreſents, That
'Italy is in conſtant want of foreign ſupplies, that
'the lives of the Roman people are daily at the
'mercy of uncertain ſeas and of tempeſts: were it
'not for our ſupports from the provinces, ſupports,
'by which the maſters, and their ſlaves, and their
'eſtates, are maintained, would our own Groves
'and Villas maintain us? This care therefore,
'Conſcript Fathers, is the buſineſs of the Prince,
'and by the neglect of this care, the foundations
'of the ſtate would be diſſolved. The cure of
'other defects depends upon our own private ſpirits;
'ſome of us ſhame will reclaim, neceſſity will
'mend the poor, ſatiety the rich. Or if any of
'the Magiſtrates, from a confidence of his own
'firmneſs and perſeverance, will undertake to
'ſtem the progreſs of ſo great an evil, he has both
'my praiſes, and my acknowledgement that he
'diſcharges me of part of my fatigues. But if ſuch
'will only impeach corruptions, and when they
'have gained the glory, would leave upon me the
'indignation, (indignation of their own raiſing;)
'believe me, Conſcript Fathers, I am not fond of
'bearing reſentments. I already ſuffer many for
'the Commonwealth, many that are grievous, and
'almoſt all unjuſt; and therefore, with reaſon, I
'entreat that I may not be loaded with ſuch as are

'wantonly

'wantonly and vainly raiſed, and promiſe no ad-
'vantage to you nor to me.'

The Senate upon reading the Emperor's Letter, releaſed the Ædiles from this purſuit; and the luxury of the table which, from the battle of Actium till the revolution made by Galba, flowed, for the ſpace of an hundred years, in all profuſion, at laſt gradually declined. The cauſes of this change are worth knowing. Formerly the great families, ſignal for nobility or for riches, were carried away with a paſſion for magnificence; for in thoſe days it was allowed to court the good graces of the Roman people, with the favour of Kings, and confederate Nations, and to be courted by them; ſo that each was diſtinguiſhed by the luſtre of popularity and dependences, in proportion to his affluence, the ſplendour of his houſe, and the figure which he made. But after Imperial fury had for ſome time raged in the ſlaughter of the Grandees, and great reputation brought ſure deſtruction, the reſt grew wiſer. Beſides, new men frequently choſen Senators from the Municipal towns, from the Colonies, and even from the Provinces, brought with them their own domeſtic parcimony; and though, by fortune or induſtry, many of them grew wealthy as they grew old, yet their former frugal ſpirit continued. But above all, Veſpaſian proved the promoter of moderation and frugality, being himſelf the pattern of ancient Oeconomy in his perſon and table; hence the compliance of the public with the manners of the Prince, and an emulation to practiſe them, an incitement more prevalent than the terrors of Laws and all their penalties. Or, perhaps, all human things go a certain round, and, as there are revolutions of time, there are alſo viciſſitudes in manners. Nor, indeed, have our anceſtors excelled us in all things; our own age has produced many excellencies worthy of

praiſe

praiſe and the imitation of poſterity. Let us ſtill preſerve this ſtrife in virtue with our fore-fathers.

Tiberius having gained the fame of moderation, becauſe, by rejecting the project for reforming luxury, he had diſarmed the growing hopes of the accuſers, wrote to the Senate, to deſire the *Tribunitial Power* for Druſus. Auguſtus had deviſed this title as beſt ſuiting the ſupreme power, while avoiding the odious name of *King* or *Dictator*, he yet wanted ſome particular appellation, under it to controul all other powers in the State. He afterwards aſſumed Marcus Agrippa into a fellowſhip in it, and, upon his death, Tiberius, that none might doubt who was to be his ſucceſſor. By this means, he conceived, he ſhould defeat the aſpiring views of others; beſides, he confided in the moderation of Tiberius, and in the mightineſs of his own authority. By his example, Tiberius now advanced Druſus to a participation of the ſupreme Magiſtracy, whereas, while Germanicus yet lived, he acted without diſtinction towards both. In the beginning of his Letter, he beſought the Gods, 'That by his counſels the Republic might proſper,' then added a modeſt teſtimony concerning the qualities and behaviour of the young Prince, without aggravation or falſe embelliſhments, 'That he had 'a wife and three children, and was of the ſame 'age with himſelf when called by the deified Au- 'guſtus to that office; that Druſus was not now 'by him adopted a partner in the toils of Govern- 'ment, precipitately, but after eight years expe- 'rience made of his qualifications, after ſeditions 'ſuppreſſed, wars concluded, the honour of Tri- 'umph, and two Conſulſhips.'

The Senators had foreſeen this addreſs; hence they received it with the more elaborate adulation. However, they could deviſe nothing to decree, but 'Statues to the two Princes, altars to the Gods,

'triumphal

'triumphal arches,' and other uſual honours, only that Marcus Silanus ſtrove to honour the Princes by the diſgrace of the Conſulſhip; he propoſed 'That 'all records, public and private, ſhould, for their 'date, be inſcribed no more with the names of 'the Conſuls, but of thoſe who exerciſed the Tri-'bunitial power.' But Haterius Agrippa, by moving to have 'the Decrees of that day engraved 'in Letters of gold, and hung up in the Se-'nate,' became an object of deriſion, for that, as he was an ancient man, he could reap from his moſt abominable flattery no other fruit but that of infamy.

In the mean time, as the Province of Africa was continued to Junius Blæſus, Servius Malugi-nenſis Prieſt of Jupiter, demanded that of Aſia. He inſiſted, 'That it was vainly alledged, that 'ſuch Prieſts were not allowed to leave Italy; 'that he was under no other reſtriction than thoſe 'of Mars and Romulus; and if they were admitted 'to the lots of Provinces, why were thoſe of Ju-'piter debarred? The ſame was neither adjudged 'by the authority of the people, nor in the books 'which aſcertained the ſacred rites. Frequently, 'when the Prieſts of Jupiter were detained by ſick-'neſs, or engaged in the public, their function was 'ſupplied by the Pontifs. The function itſelf lay 'unfilled for two and ſeventy years together, after 'the death of Cornelius Merula, and yet the exer-'ciſe of Religion never ceaſed. Now if in ſuch 'a ſeries of years, Religion could ſubſiſt unhurt 'without the creation of any ſuch Prieſt at all, 'how much eaſier might his abſence be borne in 'the exerciſe of the Proconſular power, for one 'year? It was to ſatiate private piques, if formerly 'the Prieſts of Jupiter were by the chief Pontiffs 'debarred from the Government of Provinces. But 'now, by the goodneſs of the Gods, the chief

Pon-

'Pontif was alſo the chief of men, a Pontif to 'whom emulation, hatred, and other perſonal pre-'poſſeſſions, had no acceſs.'

To theſe his reaſonings ſeveral anſwers were made by Lentulus the Augur, and others, but all diſagreeing, ſo that the reſult was 'to wait for the 'deciſion of the ſupreme Pontif.' Tiberius in his anſwer to the Senate, poſtponing his notice of the pretenſions of the Prieſt of Jupiter, qualified the honours decreed to Druſus with the Tribunitial power, and eſpecially cenſured the 'extravagance 'of the propoſition for golden letters, as contrary 'to the example and uſage of Rome.' Letters from Druſus were likewiſe read, and, though modeſt in expreſſion, were conſtrued to be full of haughtineſs; 'Were all things in the Roman ſtate 'ſo miſerably reverſed, that even a youth, one juſt 'diſtinguiſhed with ſuch ſupreme honour, deigned 'not to viſit the Gods of Rome, nor appear in 'Senate, nor begin in his native City the auſpices 'of his dignity? No war detained him; he had no 'journey to make from remote countries, while he 'was only diverting himſelf upon the lakes and 'ſhores of Campania, and pleaſure his chief avo-'cation. With ſuch tuition was he prepared the 'future ruler of human kind! this the leſſon he 'had learnt from the maxims of his fathers! In 'truth, the Emperor himſelf, an ancient man, 'might find uneaſineſs in living under the eye of 'the public, and plead a life already fatigued with 'age and occupations; but what beſides pride and 'ſtatelineſs could obſtruct Druſus?'

Tiberius, while he fortified the vitals of his own domination, afforded the Senate a ſhadow of their ancient Juriſdiction, by referring to their examination petitions and claims from the Provinces. For there had now prevailed amongſt the Greek Cities a latitude of inſtituting Sanctuaries at pleaſure,

ſure. Hence the Temples were filled with the moſt profligate fugitive ſlaves; here debtors found protection againſt their creditors, and hither were admitted ſuch as were purſued for capital crimes. Nor was any authority found ſufficient to bridle the ſeditious zeal of the people, thus defending the villainies of men, as if the ſame were the ſacred inſtitutions of the Deities. It was therefore ordered, that theſe cities ſhould ſend deputies to repreſent their claims. Some voluntarily relinquiſhed the privileges which they had arbitrarily aſſumed; many confided in their right, from the antiquity of their ſuperſtitions, or their ſervices to the Roman people. Glorious to the Senate was the appearance of that day, when the grants from our anceſtors, the engagements of our confederates, the ordinances of Kings, ſuch Kings who had reigned as yet independent of the Roman power, and when even the inſtitutions, ſacred to the Gods, were now all ſubjected to their inſpection, and their judgment free, as of old, to ratify or aboliſh with abſolute power.

Firſt of all the Epheſians applied, and alledged, that 'Diana and Apollo were not born at Delos, 'according to the opinion of the vulgar. In their 'territory flowed the river Cenchris, where alſo 'ſtood the Ortygian Grove; there the big-bellied 'Latona, leaning upon an Olive-tree, which even 'then remained, was delivered of theſe Deities, 'and thence by their appointment, the Grove be-'came ſacred. Thither Apollo himſelf, after his 'ſlaughter of the Cyclops, retired for a ſanctuary 'from the wrath of Jupiter. Soon after the victo-'rious Bacchus pardoned the ſuppliant Amazons, 'who ſought refuge at the Altar of Diana. By 'the conceſſion of Hercules, when he reigned in 'Lydia, her Temple was dignified with an aug-'mentation of immunities, nor during the Perſian

'monarchy

'monarchy were they abridged; they were next 'maintained by the Macedonians, and then by 'us.'

The Magneſians next aſſerted their claim, founded on an eſtabliſhment of Lucius Scipio, confirmed by another of Sylla; the former, after the defeat of Antiochus, the latter after that of Mithridates, having, as a teſtimony of the faith and bravery of the Magneſians, dignified their Temple of the Leucophrynean Diana with the privileges of an inviolable Sanctuary. After them, the Aphrodiſians and Stratoniceans produced a grant from Cæſar the Dictator, for their early ſervices to his party, and another lately from Auguſtus, with a commendation inſerted, 'that with zeal unſhaken towards the Ro-'man people, they had borne the irruption of the 'Parthians.' But theſe two people adored different Deities; Aphrodiſium was a city devoted to Venus, that of Stratonicea maintained the worſhip of Jupiter and of Diana Trivia. Thoſe of Hierocæſarea exhibited claims of higher antiquity, 'that 'they poſſeſſed the Perſian Diana, and her Temple 'conſecrated by King Cyrus.' They likewiſe pleaded the authorities of Perpenna, Iſauricus, and of many more Roman Captains, who had allowed the ſame ſacred immunity, not to the temple only, but to a precinct two miles round it. Thoſe of Cyprus pleaded right of ſanctuary to three of their Temples, the moſt ancient founded by Aerias to the Paphian Venus, another by his ſon Amathus to the Amathuſian Venus, the third to the Salaminian Jupiter by Teucer, the ſon of Telamon, when he fled from the fury of his father.

The deputies too of other cities were heard. But the Senate, tired with ſo many, and becauſe there was a contention begun amongſt particular parties for particular cities, gave power to the Conſuls, 'to 'ſearch into the validity of their ſeveral preten-

'ſions,

'sions, and whether in them no fraud was inter-
'woven, with orders to lay the whole matter once
'more before the Senate.' The Conſuls reported, that, beſides the cities already mentioned, 'they had 'found the Temple of Æſculapius at Pergamos to 'be a genuine Sanctuary. The reſt claimed upon 'originals, from the darkneſs of antiquity, alto-'gether obſcure. Smyrna particularly pleaded an 'oracle of Apollo, in obedience to which they 'had dedicated a Temple to Venus Stratonices; 'as did the Iſle of Tenos an oracular order from 'the ſame God, to erect to Neptune a Statue and 'Temple. Sardis urged a later authority, name-'ly, a grant from the Great Alexander; and 'Miletus inſiſted on one from King Darius: as to 'the Deities of theſe two cities, one worſhipped 'Diana, the other, Apollo, and Crete too de-'manded the privilege of Sanctuary to a Statue of 'the deified Auguſtus.' Hence divers orders of Senate were made, by which, though great reverence was expreſſed towards the Deities, yet the extent of the Sanctuaries was limited, and the ſeveral people were injoyned 'to hang up in each 'Temple the preſent Decree, engraven in braſs, 'as a ſacred Memorial, and a reſtraint againſt their 'lapſing, under the colour of Religion, into claims 'of ſuperſtition and pre-eminence.'

At the ſame time, a vehement diſtemper having ſeized Livia, obliged the Emperor to haſten his return to Rome; ſeeing the mother and ſon lived hitherto in apparent unanimity, or perhaps mutually diſguiſed their hate; for, not long before, Livia, having dedicated a Statue to the deified Auguſtus, near the Theatre of Marcellus, had the name of Tiberius inſcribed after her own. This he was believed to have reſented heinouſly, as a degrading the dignity of the Prince, but to have ſmothered his reſentment under dark diſſimulation.

Upon

Upon this occaſion therefore, the Senate decreed ‘ ſupplications to the Gods, with the celebration ‘ of the greater Roman Games, under the direction ‘ of the Pontifs, the Augurs, the College of fif- ‘ teen, aſſiſted by the College of ſeven, and the ‘ fraternity of Auguſtal Prieſts.’ Lucius Apronius had moved, that ‘ with the reſt might pre- ‘ ſide the company of Heralds.’ Tiberius oppoſed it, and diſtinguiſhed between the juriſdiction of the Prieſts and theirs, ‘ for that at no time had the ‘ Heralds arrived to ſo much pre-eminence; but ‘ for the Auguſtal fraternity, they were therefore ‘ added, becauſe they exerciſed a Prieſthood pecu- ‘ liar to that family for which the preſent vows ‘ and ſolemnities were made.’

It is no part of my purpoſe to trace all the votes of particular men, unleſs they are memorable for integrity, or for notorious infamy. This I conceive to be the principal duty of an Hiſtorian, that he ſuppreſs no inſtance of virtue, and that by the dread of future infamy and the cenſures of Poſterity, men may be deterred from deteſtable actions and proſtitute ſpeeches. In ſhort, ſuch was the abomination of thoſe times, ſo prevailing the contagion of flattery, that not only the firſt Nobles, whoſe obnoxious ſplendour found protection in obſequiouſneſs, but all who had been Conſuls, a great part of ſuch as had been Prætors, and even many of the unregiſtered Senators, ſtrove for Priority in the vileneſs and exceſs of their votes. There is a tradition, that Tiberius, as often as he went out of the Senate, was wont to cry out in Greek, *Oh men prepared for bondage!* Even he who could not bear public liberty, nauſeated this proſtitute tameneſs of ſlaves.

Hence by degrees they proceeded from acts of abaſement to thoſe of vengeance. Caius Silanus, Proconſul of Aſia, accuſed by theſe our Allies of robbing

robbing the public, was impleaded by Mamercus Scaurus once Conſul, Junius Otho Prætor, and Brutidius Niger Ædile. They charged him with 'violating the Divinity of Auguſtus, and with 'deſpiſing the Majeſty of Tiberius.' Mamercus boaſted, that he imitated the great examples of old, 'that Lucius Cotta was accuſed by Scipio, 'Servius Galba by Cato the Cenſor, Publius Ru-'tilius by Marcus Scaurus.' As if ſuch crimes as theſe had been ever avenged by Scipio and Cato, or by that very Scaurus, whom this Mamercus his great grandſon, and the reproach of his progenitors, was now diſgracing by the vile occupation of an informer! The old employment of Junius Otho, was that of a ſchool-maſter. Thence being by the power of Sejanus created a Senator, he laboured by notorious attempts to triumph over the baſeneſs of his original. Brutidius abounded in worthy accompliſhments, and, had he proceeded in the upright road, was in the ready way to every the moſt diſtinguiſhed honour; but eagerneſs hurried him, while he puſhed to ſurpaſs firſt his equals, afterwards his ſuperiors, and at laſt his own very hopes; a courſe which has overwhelmed even many virtuous men, who, ſcorning acquirements that came ſlow, but attended with ſecurity, graſped at ſuch as were ſudden, though linked to deſtruction.

Gellius Poplicola, and Marcus Paconius, increaſed the number of the accuſers, the former Quæſtor to Silanus, the other his Lieutenant. Neither was it doubted but the accuſed was guilty of cruelty and extortion. But he was beſet with a ſeries of hardſhips, dangerous even to the innocent, when, beſides ſo many Senators, his foes, he was to reply ſingle to the moſt eloquent pleaders of all Aſia, choſen purpoſely to accuſe him, ignorant himſelf of pleading, and beſet with capital terrors, a cir-

a circumſtance which diſables the moſt practiſed Eloquence. Neither did Tiberius ſpare him, but, with an angry voice and countenance, daunted and interrupted him with inceſſant queſtions; nor was he allowed to refute or evade them, nay, was often forced to confeſs, leſt the Emperor ſhould have aſked in vain. The ſlaves too of Silanus, in order to be examined by torture, were delivered in ſale to the City-ſteward; and that none of his relations might engage to aſſiſt him, when his life was thus at ſtake, crimes of treaſon were ſubjoined, a ſure bar to all help, and a ſeal upon their lips. Having therefore requeſted an interval of a few days, he dropped all defence, and tried the Emperor by a Memorial, in which he menaced him with the public odium, and blended expoſtulations with prayers.

Tiberius, the better to palliate by precedent his purpoſes againſt Silanus, cauſed to be recited a Repreſentation from Auguſtus, concerning Voleſus Meſſala, Proconſul of the ſame province, and the Decree of Senate made againſt him. He then aſked Lucius Piſo his opinion. Piſo, after a long preface of the Emperor's clemency, propoſed 'to 'interdict Silanus from fire and water, and to ba-'niſh him into the iſland Gyarus.' The reſt voted the ſame thing, only that Cneius Lentulus moved, 'that the eſtate deſcending from his mother 'Cornelia, ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from his own, 'and reſtored to his ſon.' Tiberius aſſented. But, Cornelius Dolabella, purſuing his old ſtrain of adulation, and having firſt expoſed the morals of Silanus, added, 'that no man of profligate manners, 'and marked with infamy, ſhould be admitted to 'the lot of Provinces; and of this their character 'the Prince was to judge. Tranſgreſſions, he 'ſaid, were puniſhed by the Laws; but how much

'more merciful would it be to prevent tranſgreſ-
'ſors! more merciful to the men themſelves, more
'to the Provinces.'

Againſt this Tiberius reaſoned, 'that in truth
'he was not ignorant of the prevailing rumours
'concerning the conduct of Silanus; but eſtabliſh-
'ments muſt not be built upon rumours. In the
'adminiſtration of Provinces, many had diſap-
'pointed our hopes, and many our fears. Some
'were, by the great weight of affairs, rouſed into
'vigilance and amendment, others degenerated and
'ſunk under them. The prince could not within
'his own view comprize all things, nor was it at
'all expedient for him to make himſelf anſwerable
'for the characters of other men engaged in pur-
'ſuits of ambition. Laws were therefore appointed
'againſt facts committed, becauſe all things future
'are hid in uncertainty. Such were the inſtitu-
'tious of our anceſtors, that if crimes preceded,
'puniſhments were to follow. Nor ſhould they
'change eſtabliſhments wiſely contrived and always
'approved. The Prince had already ſufficiency of
'burdens, and even ſufficiency of power; the au-
'thority of the Laws decreaſed when that of the
'prince advanced, nor was Sovereignty to be ex-
'erciſed where the Laws would ſerve.' A popu-
lar ſpeech, and the more joyfully heard, as acts
of popularity were rare with Tiberius. To it he
added, prudent as he was in mitigating exceſſes,
where his own proper reſentments did not controul
him, 'that Gyarus was an unhoſpitable iſland, and
'devoid of human culture; that, in favour to the
'Junian family, and to a Patrician lately of their
'own order, they ſhould allow him for his place
'of exile the iſle of Cythera; that this too was the
'requeſt of Torquata, the ſiſter of Silanus, a
'Veſtal virgin of primitive ſanctity.' This motion
prevailed.

The

The Cyrenians were afterwards heard, and Ceſius Cordus, charged by them, and impleaded by Ancharius Priſcus, for plundering the Province, was condemned. Lucius Ennius, a Roman Knight, was impeached of Treaſon, 'for that he had con-'verted an effigies of the Prince into common uſes 'of ſilver;' but Tiberius withſtood admitting him as a criminal. Againſt this acquittal Ateius Capito openly declared his proteſt from an affected ſpirit of liberty; 'for that the Emperor ought not 'to ſnatch from the fathers the power of penal-'ties, nor ought ſuch a mighty iniquity to paſs 'unpuniſhed; he, indeed, might be paſſive under 'his own grievances; but let him not give up 'the indignation of the Senate, and the injuries 'done the Commonwealth.' Tiberius conſidered rather the drift of theſe words than the expreſſion, and perſiſted in his interpoſition. The infamy of Capito was the more ſignal, becauſe, learned as he was in Laws human and divine, he thus debaſed the dignity of the State, and his own perſonal accompliſhments.

The next was a religious debate, in what Temple to place the gift vowed by the Roman Knights to Fortune ſtiled the *Equeſtrian*, for the recovery of Livia; for, though in the city were many Temples to this Goddeſs, yet none had that title. At laſt it was diſcovered that at Antium was one thus named; and as all the religious Inſtitutions in the cities of Italy, all the Temples and Statues of the Deities, were included in the juriſdiction and ſovereignty of Rome, the gift was ordered to be preſented there. While matters of Religion were on foot, the anſwer lately deferred, concerning Servius Maluginenſis, Prieſt of Jupiter, was now produced by Tiberius, who recited a Statute of the Pontifs, 'that when the Prieſt of Jupiter was taken ill, he 'might, with the conſent of the chief Pontif, be

'abſent

'absent two nights, except on days of public sacrifice, and never more than twice in the same 'year.' This regulation, made under Augustus, sufficiently shewed, that a year's absence, and the administration of Provinces, were not allowed to the Priests of Jupiter. He likewise quoted the example of Lucius Metellus, Chief Pontif, who restrained to Rome Aulus Postumius, who was under that character. So the lot of Asia was conferred on that Consular who was next in seniority to Maluginensis.

During this time, Lepidus asked leave of the Senate, to strengthen and beautify at his expence the Basilic of Paulus, a peculiar Monument of the Æmilian family. For even then it was usual with private men to be magnificent in public structures. Nor had Augustus blamed Taurus, Philippus, or Balbus, for applying their overflowing wealth, or the spoils of the enemy, towards the decoration of the City, and the perpetuation of their own fame. By their example Lepidus, though but moderately rich, revived the venerable glory of his Ancestors. But, as the Theatre of Pompey was consumed by accidental fire, Tiberius undertook to rebuild it, because none of the family were equal to the charge, and promised that it should, however, be still called by the name of Pompey. At the same time, he celebrated the praises of Sejanus, and to his vigilance and efforts ascribed it, that a flame so violent was stopped at one building only. Hence the Fathers decreed a Statue to Sejanus, to be placed upon the Theatre of Pompey. Nor was it long after that the Emperor, when he dignified Junius Blesus with the ensigns of Triumph, declared, 'that in honour to Sejanus he did it,' for, to Sejanus, Blesus was uncle.

And yet the actions of Blesus were entitled to so much distinction. For, Tacfarinas, though often re-

repulſed, yet ſtill repairing his forces in the heart of Africa, had arrived to ſuch a pitch of arrogance, that he ſent Embaſſadors to Tiberius, with demands 'for a ſettlement to himſelf, and his army,' otherwiſe he threatened 'everlaſting war.' They ſay that upon no occaſion did ever Tiberius, for any inſult offered himſelf, and the Roman name, manifeſt a more ſenſible indignation; 'that a deſerter and a robber ſhould preſume to offer terms, like an equal foe; when even to Spartacus no conceſſion was made of being received and treated under the ſanction of the public faith, while, after the ſlaughter of ſo many Conſular armies, he ſtill carried, with impunity, fire and deſolation through Italy; though the Commonwealth was then gaſping under two mighty wars, with Sertorious and Mithridates. Much leſs was Tacfarinas, a free-booter, to be bought off by terms of peace and conceſſion of lands, whilſt the Roman people enjoyed the higheſt pitch of glory and power.' Hence he commiſſioned Bleſus, 'to enage by the hopes of indemnity all his followers, to lay down their arms; but to get into his hands the leader himſelf, by whatever means.'

So that by this pardon many were brought over, and the war was forthwith proſecuted againſt him by ſtratagems, not unlike his own. For as he, who in ſtrength of men was unequal, but in arts of ſtealth and pillaging ſuperior, made his incurſions in ſeparate bands, and thence could at once elude any attack of ours, and haraſs us by ambuſhes of his; ſo on our ſide, three diſtinct routes were reſolved, and three ſeveral bodies formed. Scipio, the Proconſul's Lieutenant, commanded on that quarter whence Tacfarinas made his depredations upon the Leptitanians, and then his retreat amongſt the Garamantes. In another quarter Bleſus the ſon led a band of his own, to protect the territory of the Cir-

Cirtenſians from ravages; between both marched the Proconſul himſelf, with the flower of the army, erecting forts, and caſting up entrenchments in convenient places. By theſe diſpoſitions he ſorely cramped the foe, and rendered all their movements dangerous; for, which ever way they turned, ſtill ſome party of the Roman forces was upon them, in front, in flank, and often at their heels; and by this means many were ſlain, or made priſoners. This triple army was again ſplit by Bleſus into bands ſtill ſmaller, and over each a Centurion of tried bravery placed. Neither did he, as uſual at the end of the ſeaſon, draw off his forces from the field, or diſpoſe them into winter-quarters in the old Province; but, as in the firſt heat of war, having raiſed more forts, he diſpatched light parties, acquainted with the wilderneſs, who drove Tacfarinas before them, continually ſhifting his huts; till, having taken his brother, he retreated, too ſuddenly however for the good of the province, as there were ſtill left behind inſtruments to rekindle the war. But Tiberius took it for concluded, and likewiſe granted to Bleſus that he ſhould be by the Legions ſaluted *Imperator*, an ancient honour, uſually done to the old Roman Captains, who, upon their ſucceſsful exploits for their country, were in the ſhouts and vehemence of victory, thus complimented by their armies; and there have been at once ſeveral *Imperators*, without any pre-eminence of one over the reſt. It was a title vouchſafed to ſome, even by Auguſtus, and now, for the laſt time, by Tiberius to Bleſus.

This year died two illuſtrious Romans, Aſinius Saloninus, ſplendid in his relations and deſcent; as Marcus Agrippa and Aſinius Pollio were his grandfathers, Druſus his half brother, and himſelf bethrothed to the Emperor's grand-daughter; and Ateius Capito, already mentioned, in civil acquire-

ments the principal man in Rome; as to deſcent, his grand-father was only a Centurion under Sylla, but his father arrived to the Prætorſhip. Auguſtus had puſhed him early into the Conſulſhip, that, by the grandeur of that office, he might be ſet above Antiſtius Labeo, who excelled in equal accompliſhments; for that age produced together theſe two ornaments of peace. But Labeo preſerved unſtained a ſpirit of liberty, and thence was more the object of popular renown; while Capito gained by obſequiouſneſs greater credit with thoſe who bore rule. The former, as he was never ſuffered to riſe beyond the Prætorſhip, met with matter of praiſe from a ſource of injury; to the other, with the glory of the Conſulate, accrued likewiſe the envy, and with envy hatred.

Junia too, now ſixty-four years after the battle of Philippi, finiſhed her courſe; the niece of Cato, ſiſter of Brutus, and wife of Caſſius. Her Will made much noiſe amongſt the populace; for that being immenſely rich, and having honourably diſtinguiſhed with legacies almoſt all the great men of Rome, ſhe omitted Tiberius; an omiſſion which he took civilly, nor hindered her Panegyric from being pronounced in public, nor her Funeral from being celebrated with other cuſtomary ſolemnities. Before it were borne the Images of twenty the moſt noble families, the Manlii, the Quinctii, and other names of equal luſtre; but ſuperior to all ſhone Caſſius and Brutus, on this very account, that their Images were not with the reſt ſeen now.

THE

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK IV.

The SUMMARY.

The rise and character of Sejanus, *captain of the Prætorian guards. His arts and wicked courses to gain the Empire. His court to the Soldiery and Senate; he debauches the younger* Livia, *wife to* Drusus *the Emperor's son, and prompts her to poison her husband. The administration changes for the worse, chiefly by his means. Its lenity and plausibleness hitherto.* Tiberius, *upon the death of* Drusus, *recommends to the Senate the two sons of* Germanicus. Sejanus, *in pursuit of his designs, lays snares for* Agrippina *and her children.* Tiberius *hears the deputies of divers cities and provinces. The Players and Pantomimes, for their insolent behaviour, banished from Italy. A new priest of Jupiter, with new regulations about his office. The zeal of the Pontifs and other Magistrates towards the sons of* Germanicus, *resented by* Tiberius, *and of fatal tendency to the young*

Princes. C. Silius *his accuſation and condemnation. A capital charge againſt* Cn. Piſo, C. Caſſius, *and* Plautius Silvanus. *The war raiſed by* Tacfarinas *in Africa, ended by the conduct of* P. Dolabella; Tacfarinas *himſelf ſlain. A ſervile war ready to break out in Italy, but preſently ſuppreſſed.* Q. Vibius Serenus *accuſed of treaſon by his own ſon.* P. Suilius *and others condemned, particularly* Cremutius Cordus *the Hiſtorian, for praiſing* Brutus *and* Caſſius—*his fine defence and voluntary death. His book ordered to be burnt, yet continued to be read. The City of Cyſicus bereft of its liberties.* Tiberius *rejects the offer of a temple and divine honours from the people of Spain.* Sejanus, *as a ſtep to empire, deſires the widow of* Druſus *in marriage. The artful anſwer and refuſal of* Tiberius.— Sejanus, *alarmed by this, deviſes the removal of the Emperor from Rome. Deputies from* Greece *heard concerning their right to certain ſanctuaries.* L. Piſo *commanding as Prætor in Spain, murdered by a Peaſant. The Thracians of the higher country revolt, and are ſubdued by* Poppæus Sabinus, *who is thence honoured with the triumphal ornaments.* Claudia Pulchra *accuſed of adultery and condemned.* Agrippina *deſires leave of the Emperor to marry, but is refuſed. A conteſt between eleven Aſiatic cities about erecting a Temple to* Tiberius: *Smyrna is preferred to all the reſt.* Tiberius *retires from Rome. His great peril in a certain cave:* Sejanus, *to ſave the Emperor, expoſes himſelf: Hence the freſh increaſe of his power. He ſuborns inſtruments to procure the deſtruction of* Nero, *the eldeſt ſon of* Germanicus, *with a further purpoſe to overthrow his whole houſe. The tragical accident at Fidenæ from the fall of the Theatre there, whence many thouſands periſhed. A great fire at Rome. The Emperor ſhuts himſelf up in the iſland Capreæ.* Titus Sabinus, *a faithful friend to* Germanicus

and

and his family, wickedly enſnared and betrayed. His tragical doom, and its effects upon the minds of men. The death of Julia, *grand-daughter of* Auguſtus. *The Friſians revolt; the unſucceſsful attempts of* Lucius Apronius *to ſubdue them.* Agrippina *the younger given in marriage to* Cn. Domitius.

WHEN Caius Aſinius and Caius Antiſtius were Conſuls, Tiberius was in his ninth year, the ſtate compoſed, and his family flouriſhing (for the death of Germanicus he reckoned amongſt the incidents of his proſperity) when ſuddenly fortune began to grow boiſterous, and he himſelf to tyrannize, or to furniſh others with the weapons of tyranny. The beginning and cauſe of this turn aroſe from Ælius Sejanus, Captain of the Prætorian Cohorts. Of his power I have above made mention; I ſhall now explain his original, his manners, and by what black deeds he ſtrove to ſnatch the Sovereignty. He was born at Vulſinii, ſon to Sejus Strabo, a Roman Knight; in his early youth he was a follower of Caius Cæſar (grand-ſon of Auguſtus) and lay then under the contumely of having for hire expoſed himſelf to the conſtupration of Apicius, a debauchee wealthy and profuſe. Next by various artifices he ſo enchanted Tiberius, that he who to all others was dark and unſearchable, became to Sejanus alone deſtitute of all reſtraint and caution; neither did he ſo much accompliſh this by any ſuperior efforts of policy (for at his own ſtratagems he was vanquiſhed by others) as by the rage of the Gods againſt the Roman State, to which he proved alike deſtructive when he flouriſhed and when he fell. His perſon was hardy and equal to fatigues, his ſpirit daring, ſedulouſly diſguiſing his own counſels, prone to blacken others, alike fawning and imperious, his deportment exactly modeſt,

his heart foſtering all the luſt of domination, and, with this view, engaged ſometimes in profuſion and luxury, often in notable application and vigilance, qualities no leſs pernicious, when perſonated by ambition for the acquiring of Empire.

The authority of his Command over the Guards, which was but moderate before his time, he extended, by gathering into one Camp all the Prætorian Cohorts then diſperſed over the City, that, thus united, they might all at once receive his orders, and, by continually beholding their own numbers and ſtrength, conceive confidence in themſelves and prove a terror to all other men. He pretended, 'that the ſoldiers, while ſcattered, were 'looſe and debauched; there could, in any haſty 'emergency, be more reliance upon their ſuccour 'when together; and, when encamped remote 'from the allurements of the town, their diſcipline 'would be more exact and ſevere.' When the encampment was finiſhed, he gradually engaged the affections of the ſoldiers, by affability and familiar uſage; it was he too who choſe the Centurions, he who choſe the Tribunes. Neither did the Senate eſcape his court, whilſt he daily diſtinguiſhed his followers in it with offices and provinces; for Tiberius was intirely complying, nay, ſo paſſionate for him, that not in converſation only, but in his ſpeeches to the Senate and people, he extolled him, as *the ſharer of his burdens*, and even allowed his Effigies to be publicly adored, in the ſeveral Theatres, in all places of popular convention, nay at the head of the Legions.

But the Imperial houſe was yet full of Cæſars, the Emperor's ſon a grown man, and his grandſons of age; and becauſe the cutting them off all at once, was dangerous, the treaſon which he meditated, required pauſes and a gradation of murders. He, however, choſe the darkeſt method, and to begin

begin with Druſus; againſt whom he was tranſported with a freſh motive of rage. For, Druſus, impatient of a rival, and in his temper inflammable, had, upon ſome occaſional conteſt, ſhaken his fiſt at Sejanus, and, as he prepared to reſiſt, given him a blow on the face. As he therefore caſt about for every expedient of revenge, the readieſt ſeemed to apply to Livia his wife; ſhe was the ſiſter of Germanicus, and from an uncomely perſon in her childhood, became afterwards exceeding lovely. As he perſonated a vehement paſſion for this Lady, he tempted her to adultery, and having accompliſhed the firſt iniquity (nor will a woman, who has ſacrificed her chaſtity, ſtick at any other) he prompted her to higher views, thoſe of marriage, of a partnerſhip in the Empire, nay, the murder of her huſband. Thus ſhe, the niece of Auguſtus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, the mother of children by Druſus, defiled herſelf, her anceſtors, and her poſterity, with an adulterer from one of the Municipal Towns, and all to exchange an honourable condition poſſeſſed, for purſuits altogether flagitious and uncertain. Into a fellowſhip in the guilt was aſſumed Eudemus, Phyſician to Livia, and, under colour of his profeſſion, frequently with her in private. Sejanus too, to avoid the jealouſy of the adultereſs, diſcharged from his bed Apicata his wife, by whom he had three children. But ſtill the mightineſs of the iniquity terrified them, and thence created delays, and frequently oppoſite counſels.

During this, in the beginning of the year, Druſus, one of the ſons of Germanicus, put on the manly Robe, and upon him the Senate conferred the ſame honours decreed before to his brother Nero. A ſpeech was added by Tiberius, with a large Encomium upon his ſon, 'That with the tenderneſs of a father 'he uſed the children of his brother.' For, Dru-

ſus, however rare it be for power and unanimity to ſubſiſt together, was eſteemed benevolent, certainly not ill-diſpoſed, towards theſe youths. Now again was revived by Tiberius the propoſal of a progreſs into the Provinces, a ſtale propoſal, but often feigned. He pretended for cauſe, 'The multi-'tude of Veterans diſcharged, and thence the ne-'ceſſity of recruiting the armies; that Volunteers 'were wanting, or if already ſuch there were, they 'were chiefly the neceſſitous and vagabonds, and 'deſtitute of the like courage and obedience.' He likewiſe curſorily recounted the number of the Legions, and what Countries they defended, a detail which, I think, it behoves me alſo to repeat, that thence may appear what was then the complement of the Roman forces, what Kings their confederates, and how much more narrow than now the limits of the Empire.

Italy was on each ſide guarded by two fleets, one at Miſenum, one at Ravenna; and the coaſt joining to Gaul, by the Gallies taken by Auguſtus at the Battle of Actium, and ſent powerfully manned to Forojulium. But the chief ſtrength lay upon the Rhine, even eight Legions, as a common guard upon the Germans and the Gauls. The reduction of Spain, lately completed, was maintained by three. Mauritania was poſſeſſed by King Juba, a Realm which he held as a gift from the Roman people; the reſt of Africa by two Legions, and Ægypt by the like number. Four Legions kept in ſubjection all the mighty range of country, extending from Syria as far as the Euphrates, and bordering upon the Iberians, Albanians, and other Principalities, who by our might are protected againſt foreign Powers. Thrace was held by Rhemetalces, and the ſons of Cotys; and both banks of the Danube by four Legions, two in Pannonia, two in Mœſia. In Dalmatia likewiſe were

placed two, who, by the ſituation of the country, were at hand to ſupport the former, and had not far to march into Italy, were any ſudden ſuccours required there; though Rome too had her peculiar ſoldiery, three City-Cohorts, and nine Prætorian, liſted chiefly out of Etruria and Umbria, or from the ancient Latium and the old Roman Colonies. In the ſeveral Provinces, beſides, were diſpoſed, according to their ſituation and neceſſity, the fleets of the ſeveral confederates, with their ſquadrons of horſe and battalions of foot; a number of forces not much different from all the reſt; but the particular detail would be uncertain, ſince, according to the exigency of times, they often ſhifted ſtations, with numbers ſometimes enlarged, ſometimes reduced.

It will, I believe, fall in properly here to review alſo the other parts of the Adminiſtration, and by what meaſures it was hitherto conducted, till with the beginning of this year the Government of Tiberius began to change terribly for the worſe. Firſt then, all public, and every private buſineſs of moment, was determined by the Senate; to the great men he allowed liberty of debate, thoſe who in their debates lapſed into flattery, he checked; in conferring preferments, he conſidered ancient nobility, renown in war abroad, and civil accompliſhments at home; inſomuch that it was manifeſt, his choice could not have been better. There remained to the Conſuls, there remained to the Prætors, the uſual marks of their dignities, to inferior Magiſtrates the independent exerciſe of their charges; and the Laws, where the power of the Prince was not concerned, were in proper force. The tributes, duties, and all public receipts, were directed by companies of Roman Knights; the management of his own revenue he committed to thoſe well known to himſelf for their qualifications, and to ſuch whom he knew by reputation alone; and when once

taken, they were continued, without all reſtriction of term, ſince moſt grew old in the ſame employments. The populace were indeed aggrieved by the dearth of proviſions, but without any fault of the Prince, nay, he ſpared no poſſible expence nor pains to remedy the effects of barrenneſs in the earth, and of wrecks at ſea. He provided that the Provinces ſhould not be oppreſſed with new impoſitions, and that no extortion, or violence ſhould be committed by the Magiſtrates in raiſing the old; no infamous corporal puniſhments were inflicted there, no confiſcations of goods.

The Emperor's poſſeſſions through Italy were thin, the behaviour of his ſlaves modeſt, the freedmen who managed his houſe, few; and in his diſputes with particulars, the Courts were open and the Law equal. All which reſtraints he obſerved, not in truth, in the popular ways of complaiſance, but always ſtern, and for the moſt part dreaded, yet ſtill he retained them, till by the death of Druſus they were quite abandoned; for, as long as he lived they continued; becauſe Sejanus, while he was but laying the foundations of his power, ſtudied to recommend himſelf by good counſels, and had then an avenger to fear, one who diſguiſed not his enmity, but was frequent in his complaints, 'That 'when the ſon was in his prime, another was called, 'as Coadjutor, to the Government; nay, how 'little was wanting to his being declared Collegue 'in the Empire? The firſt advances to Sovereignty 'are ſteep and perillous, but, when once you are 'entered, parties and inſtruments are ready to 'eſpouſe you. Already a Camp for the Guards 'was formed, by the pleaſure and authority of the 'Captain; into his hands the ſoldiers were de-'livered; in the Theatre of Pompey his Statue 'was beheld; in his grand-children would be 'mixed the blood of the Druſi with that of Sejanus.

'Sejanus. After all this, what remained but to 'ſupplicate his modeſty to reſt contented here.' Nor was it rarely that he uttered theſe diſguſts, nor to a few; beſides, his wife being debauched, all his ſecrets were betrayed.

Sejanus therefore judging it time to diſpatch, choſe ſuch a poiſon as by operating gradually, might preſerve the appearances of a caſual diſeaſe. This was adminiſtered to Druſus by Lygdus the Eunuch, as, eight years after, was learnt. Now, during all the days of his illneſs, Tiberius diſcloſed no ſymptoms of anguiſh (perhaps from oſtentation of a firmneſs of ſpirit) nay, when he had expired, and while he was yet unburied, he entered the Senate, and finding the Conſuls placed upon a common ſeat, as a teſtimony of their grief, he admoniſhed them of their dignity and ſtation; and, as the Senators burſt into tears, he ſmothered his riſing ſighs, and animated them by a Speech uttered without heſitation. 'He, in truth, was not 'ignorant that he might be cenſured, for having 'thus in the firſt throbs of ſorrow, beheld the face 'of the Senate, when moſt of thoſe who mourn 'can ſcarce endure the ſoothings of their kindred, 'ſcarce behold the day; neither were ſuch to be 'condemned of weakneſs: but for himſelf, he had 'more powerful conſolations, ſuch as aroſe from 'cheriſhing and guarding the Commonwealth.' He then lamented 'the extreme age of his mother, 'the tender years of his grand-ſons, his own days 'in declenſion,' and deſired that, 'as the only 'alleviation of the preſent evils, the Children of 'Germanicus might be introduced.' The Conſuls therefore went for them, and having with kind words fortified their young minds, preſented them to the Emperor. He took them by the hand, and ſaid, 'Conſcript fathers, theſe infants, bereft of 'their father, I committed to their uncle, and be-

'ſought

'ſought him that, though he had iſſue of his own,
'he would rear and nouriſh them no otherwiſe
'than as the immediate offspring of his blood,
'that he would appropriate them as ſtays to him-
'ſelf and poſterity. Druſus being ſnatched from
'us, to you I addreſs the ſame prayers, and in
'the preſence of the Gods, in the face of your
'country, I adjure you, receive into your pro-
'tection, take under your tuition the great grand-
'children of Auguſtus, children, deſcended from
'anceſtors the moſt glorious in the State. To-
'wards them fulfil your own, fulfil my duty. To
'you, Nero, and to you, Druſus, theſe Senators
'are in the ſtead of a father, and ſuch is the ſitua-
'tion of your birth, that on the Commonwealth
'muſt light all the good and evil which befalls
'you.'

All this was heard with much weeping, and followed with propitious prayers and vows; and had he only gone thus far, and in his ſpeech obſerved a medium, he had left the ſouls of his hearers full of ſympathy and applauſe. But, by renewing an old project, always chimerical and ſo often ridiculed, about 'reſtoring the Republic, reinſtat-
'ing it again in the Conſuls, or whoever elſe
'would undertake the adminiſtration,' he forfeited his faith even in aſſertions which were commendable and ſincere. To the memory of Druſus were decreed the ſame ſolemnities as to that of Germanicus, with many ſuperadded, agreeably to the genius of flattery, which delights in ſurpaſſing and additions. Moſt ſignal was the luſtre of the Funeral in a pompous proceſſion of Images, when at it appeared, in a long train of anceſtors, Æneas, father of the Julian race, all the Kings of Alba, Romulus founder of Rome, then the Sabine Nobility, Attus Clauſus, and his deſcendents of the Claudian family.

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In relating the death of Druſus, I have followed the greateſt part of our Hiſtorians, and the moſt faithful. I would not, however, omit a rumour which in thoſe times was ſo prevailing that it is not extinguiſhed in ours, 'That Sejanus having 'by adultery gained Livia to the murder, had 'likewiſe engaged by conſtupration the affections 'and concurrence of Lygdus the Eunuch, becauſe 'Lygdus was, for his youth and lovelineſs, dear 'to his maſter, and one of his chief attendants; 'that when the time and place of poiſoning were 'by the conſpirators concerted, the Eunuch car-'ried his boldneſs ſo high, as to charge upon Dru-'ſus a deſign of poiſoning Tiberius, and ſecretly 'warning the Emperor of this, adviſed him to 'ſhun the firſt draught offered him in the next 'entertainment at his ſon's; that the old man 'liſtening to this impoſture, after he had ſate down 'to table, having received the cup delivered it to 'Druſus, who ignorantly and gaily drank it off, 'and this heightened the jealouſy of Tiberius, as 'if through fear and ſhame his ſon had ſwallowed 'the ſame deadly draught which he had prepared 'for his father.'

Theſe rumours current amongſt the populace, beſides that they are ſupported by no certain Author, may be eaſily refuted. For, who of common prudence (much leſs Tiberius, ſo long practiſed in great affairs) would preſent to his own ſon, without hearing him, the mortal bane, with his own hands too, and cutting off for ever all poſſibility of retraction? Why would he not rather have tortured the miniſter of the poiſon? Why not inquired into the contriver? Why not obſerved towards his only ſon, a ſon hitherto convicted of no iniquity, that inherent ſlowneſs and heſitation, which he practiſed even in his proceedings towards ſtrangers? But as Sejanus was reckoned the

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framer of every wickedneſs, therefore, from the exceſſive fondneſs of Tiberius towards him, and from the hatred of others towards both, things the moſt fabulous and direful were believed of them; beſides that common fame is ever moſt fraught with tales of horror upon the departure of Princes. In truth, the plan and proceſs of the murder were firſt diſcovered by Apicata, wife of Sejanus, and laid open upon the rack by Eudemus and Lygdus. Nor has any Writer appeared ſo outragious to charge it upon Tiberius, though in other inſtances they have ſedulouſly collected and inflamed every action of his. My own purpoſe in recounting and cenſuring this rumour, was to blaſt, by ſo glaring an example, the credit of groundleſs tales, and to requeſt of thoſe into whoſe hands our preſent undertaking ſhall come, that they would not prefer hearſays, void of credibility and raſhly ſwallowed, to the narrations of truth not adulterated with romance.

Now, whilſt Tiberius was pronouncing in public the Panegyric of his ſon, the Senate and people aſſumed the port and accent of mourners, rather in appearance than cordially; and in their hearts exulted to ſee the houſe of Germanicus begin to revive. But this dawn of fortune, and the conduct of Agrippina, ill diſguiſing her hopes, quickened the overthrow of that houſe. For Sejanus, when he ſaw the death of Druſus paſs unrevenged upon his murderers, and no public lamentation following it, undaunted now in villainy, ſince his firſt efforts had ſucceeded, deviſed with himſelf, how to deſtroy the ſons of Germanicus, whoſe ſucceſſion to the Empire was now unqueſtionable. There were three of them, and, from the diſtinguiſhed fidelity of their Governors, and incorruptible chaſtity of Agrippina, could not be all circumvented by poiſon. He therefore choſe to arraign her for the haughtineſs of her ſpirit, to

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rouſe the old hatred of Livia the elder, and the guilty heart of his late accomplice, Livia the younger; that they might charge her to the Emperor, 'as elated with pride for her numerous 'iſſue; and that, confiding in the zeal of the po-'pulace, ſhe was panting after the ſovereignty.' The young Livia acted in this engagement by crafty calumniators, amongſt whom ſhe had particularly choſen Julius Poſthumus, a man every way qualified for her purpoſes, as he was the adulterer of Mutilia Priſca, and thence a confident of her grand-mother's; (for, over the mind of the Empreſs, Priſca had powerful influence) and by their means the old woman, in her own nature tender and jealous of her power, was rendered utterly irreconcileable to the widow of her grand-ſon. Such too as were neareſt the perſon of Agrippina, were prompted to be continually enraging her tempeſtuous heart by perverſe repreſentations.

Tiberius the while, no ways relaxing the cares of Government, but applying for conſolation to affairs, attended the adminiſtration of juſtice at Rome, and diſpatched the petitions from the Provinces. By a Decree of Senate, at his motion, the City of Cibyra in Aſia, and that of Ægyra in Achaia, both overthrown by an earthquake, were eaſed of tribute for three years. Vibius Serenus too, Proconſul of the furthermoſt Spain, was condemned for arbitrary adminiſtration, and for the ſavageneſs of his conduct baniſhed into the iſle of Amorgos. Carſius Sacerdos, charged with ſupplying corn to the enemy Tacfarinas, was acquitted, as was Caius Gracchus of the ſame crime. This Caius was in his childhood carried by his father Sempronius into the iſland Cercina, as a companion in his exile, he grew up there amongſt fugitives, and men deſtitute of liberal education, and afterwards ſuſtained himſelf by ſordid traffic between

tween Africa and Sicily. Nor thus low did he eſcape the perils that wait on elevated fortune; but, had not Ælius Lamia and Lucius Apronius, ſucceſſively Proconſuls in Africa, protected him, he muſt have fallen an innocent victim to the obnoxious ſplendor of his illuſtrious unhappy race, and to the calamitous fate of his father.

This year alſo brought deputations from the Grecian cities, one from the people of Samos, one from thoſe of Coos, the former to requeſt that the ancient right of Sanctuary in the Temple of Juno might be confirmed; the latter to ſollicit the ſame confirmation for that of Æſculapius. The Samians claimed upon a Decree of the Council of Amphictions, the ſupreme Judicature of Greece, at the time when the Greeks by their cities founded in Aſia, poſſeſſed the maritime coaſts. Nor had they of Coos a weaker title to Antiquity; to which likewiſe accrued the pretenſions of the place to the friendſhip of Rome; for they had ſecured in the Temple of Æſculapius all the Roman citizens there, when by the order of King Mithridates, ſuch were univerſally butchered throughout all the cities of Aſia and the Iſles. And now, after many complaints from the Prætors, for the moſt part ineffectual, the Emperor at laſt made a repreſentation to the Senate, concerning the licentiouſneſs of the players, 'that in many inſtances they raiſed 'ſeditious tumults, and violated the public peace; 'and, in many, promoted debauchery in private 'families; that the *Oſcan Farce*, formerly only the 'contemptible delight of the vulgar, was riſen to 'ſuch a prevailing pitch of credit and enormity, 'that it required the authority of the Senate to 'check it.' The Players therefore were driven out of Italy.

The ſame year carried off one of the twins of Druſus, and thence afflicted the Emperor with freſh

freſh woe; nor with leſs for the death of a particular friend. It was Lucillius Longus, the inſeparable companion of all the traverſes of his fortune, ſmiling or ſad, and, of all the Senators, the only one who accompanied him in his retirement at Rhodes. For this reaſon, though but a new man, the Senate decreed him a public funeral, and a ſtatue to be placed, at the expence of the Treaſury, in the ſquare of Auguſtus. For by the Senate even yet all affairs were tranſacted, inſomuch that Lucillius Capito, the Emperor's Comptroller in Aſia, was, at the accuſation of the Province, brought upon his defence before them; the Emperor too, upon this occaſion, proteſted, with great earneſtneſs, 'that from him Lucillius had 'no authority but over his ſlaves, and in collecting 'his domeſtic rents; that if he had uſurped the ju-'riſdiction of Prætor, and employed military force, 'he had ſo far violated his orders; they ſhould 'therefore hear the allegations of the Province.' Thus the accuſed was upon trial condemned. For this juſt vengeance, and that inflicted the year before on Caius Silanus, the cities of Aſia decreed a Temple to Tiberius, and his Mother, and the Senate, and obtained leave to build it. For this conceſſion Nero made a ſpeech of thanks to the Senators and his grand-father, a ſpeech which charmed the affections of his hearers, who, as they were full of the memory of Germanicus, fancied it was him they heard, and him they ſaw. There was alſo in the youth himſelf an engaging modeſty, and a gracefulneſs becoming a princely perſon; ornaments, which, by the known hatred that threatened him from Sejanus, became ſtill more dear and revered.

About the ſame time the Emperor made a diſcourſe 'about the choice of a new Prieſt of Jupiter, in the room of Servius Maluginenſis deceaſed;

'ceaſed; for that it was the ancient cuſtom to 'name three, born of parents who had in their 'nuptials obſerved the form of Confarreation; 'but now that the buſineſs of Confarreation was 'quite omitted, or by few obſerved, there remained 'not then, as formerly, the ſame ſcope for choice. 'There were ſeveral cauſes of that omiſſion, the 'principal, a want of zeal both in men and wo-'men for that rite, together with the difficulties 'attending it, whence they were prompted to 'avoid it; beſides that the paternal authority was 'for ever loſt over any ſon who acquired that 'prieſthood, and over any daughter who married 'him. The Senate therefore ought by ſome ex-'pedient to remove theſe diſcouragements, after 'the example of Auguſtus, who had ſoftened ſome 'rigid uſages of antiquity, and adapted them to 'the genius of the times.' The Senate therefore, having diſcuſſed the grounds and qualifications of that prieſthood, agreed 'to make no change from 'the firſt inſtitution.' Only a Law paſſed, 'that 'the Prieſteſs of Jupiter, ſhould, in the admini-'ſtration of things ſacred, be under the dominion 'of her huſband, but be ſubject, in other things, 'to the common treatment of other women.' To conclude, Maluginenſis the ſon ſucceeded his father. And, to raiſe the reputation of the Prieſthood, and warm the affections of the Prieſts themſelves towards ſacred ſolemnities, a preſent of two thouſand great ſeſterces * was decreed to Cornelia, choſen Superior of the Veſtal virgins in the place of Scantia; and to Auguſta a privilege granted, that as often as ſhe went to the Theatre, ſhe ſhould ſit amongſt them.

In the Conſulſhip of Cornelius Cethegus and Viſellius Varro, the Pontiffs, and by their exam-

* About fifty thouſand Crowns.

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ple the other Prieſts, while they were offering vows for the proſperity of the Emperor, recommended likewiſe Nero and Druſus to the care of the ſame Gods, not ſo much from any tenderneſs towards theſe youths, as from flattery, a practice which, when the public manners are corrupt, it is dangerous to exceed in, and alike dangerous to forbear. For, Tiberius, never benevolent to the houſe of Germanicus, was now provoked beyond all patience, that 'no difference was made between 'their youth and his years,' and ſending for the Pontifs, examined them, 'whether to the entrea-'ties, or menaces of Agrippina, they had paid 'that compliment?' And though they denied both, he reproved them, but reproved them gently, for moſt of them were his own kinſmen, or men of the firſt diſtinction in Rome. But in the Senate he made a ſet ſpeech, warning all of them for the time to come, 'not to intoxicate the giddy ſpirit 'of the youths with the pride of over-early and 'precipitate honours.' He was in truth inſtigated continually by Sejanus, who urged, 'that Rome 'was rent into contending parties, rent as in a 'Civil war; already there were thoſe who boldly 'called themſelves the Partizans of Agrippina; 'and if no ſtop were put, the faction would in-'creaſe. Nor was there any other remedy for the 'prevailing ſpirit of faction, than the cutting off 'one or two of the moſt formidable.'

With this view he fell upon Caius Silius and Titius Sabinus. The friendſhip of Germanicus was fatal to both; but to Silius there were other exceptions: he had for ſeven years commanded a powerful army; he had for his exploits in Germany been diſtinguiſhed with the enſigns of Triumph; he had ſubdued the revolting Gauls under Sacrovir; ſo that from the noiſe and eclat of his fall, proportionable terror would ſeize others.

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It was believed by many, that by his own intemperate ſpeeches he had heightened the diſpleaſure conceived againſt him, while he boaſted without meaſure, ‘ that his ſoldiers perſiſted in obedience, ‘ when others lapſed into ſedition; nor had the ‘ Empire remained to Tiberius, if in his Legions ‘ too there had been a thirſt of change.’ By theſe pretenſions of his, the Emperor thought his own fortune degraded, and too low to recompence ſuch mighty ſervices. For benefits are only ſo far acceptable, as it ſeems poſſible to diſcharge them; when they have exceeded all retaliation, hatred is returned for gratitude.

Soſia Galla was wife to Silius, and, for her dearneſs to Agrippina, hated by Tiberius. It was agreed to arraign him and her, and to poſtpone for ſome time the trial of Sabinus. Againſt them was engaged, as an accuſer, Varro the Conſul, who, under colour of ‘ revenging his father's quarrel,’ gratified, by his own infamy, the vengeance of Sejanus. The requeſt of the accuſed for a ſhort reſpit, till Varro ceaſed to be conſul, was oppoſed by the Emperor, ‘ for that it was cuſtomary for ‘ other Magiſtrates to bring particulars upon trial; ‘ nor ought the prerogative of a Conſul in the like ‘ inſtance to be infringed, ſince upon his vigilance ‘ it depended that no damage accrued to the Com-‘ monweal.’ It was a policy peculiar to Tiberius, to ſhelter under venerable old names the methods of violence lately invented. The Senate is therefore ſummoned with great parade, as if Silius were to be dealt with by the Laws, or as if Varro had been in truth acting as Conſul, and protecting the public, or as if the preſent domination had been the ancient Republic. Silius made no defence, or only enough to ſhew by whoſe fury he was oppreſſed. To him were objected, ‘ his confederacy ‘ with Sacrovir, and thence the revolt ſo long

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'concealed, his deteſtable avarice after victory, 'and the behaviour of his wife.' Without doubt, neither could be acquitted of public rapine; but the whole charge was brought under the article of Treaſon, and Silius prevented by a voluntary death the impending condemnation.

His eſtate however eſcaped not the cruelty of the ſentence, not that out of it might be repaid the money extorted from the Gauls; for none of the Gauls reclaimed it: but the precedent of Auguſtus *, being now rejected, an exact calculation and payment was made of all the effects of Silius claimed by the Exchequer. This was the firſt time Tiberius manifeſted any paſſion for another man's wealth. Sofia was ſentenced to baniſhment at the motion of Aſinius Gallus, who propoſed, 'that half her effects ſhould be forfeited, half left 'to her children.' Marcus Lepidus, on the contrary, propoſed 'the fourth part to the accuſers, 'as the Law required, all the reſt to the children.' This Lepidus I find to have been, for thoſe times, a wiſe and upright man; for, by him the exceſſive flattery, and cruel counſels of others were often mitigated. Neither did he in theſe his interpoſitions neglect a temperament, ſince he ſtill maintained at an equal heigth his character with the public, and the favour of Tiberius. Hence I am driven to doubt, whether the good liking of Princes to ſome, and their antipathy to others, be, like other things, owing to blind fate and the lot of nativity, or whether the difference be determined by the wiſdom and conduct of men; and whether it be poſſible to proceed in a ſafe path, at an equal diſtance from abrupt contumacy, and ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion, neither courting power, nor threatened by

* Auguſtus was wont to beſtow the fortunes of perſons condemned upon their children.

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it. Cotta Meſſalinus, a man deſcended from anceſtors no leſs illuſtrious than Lepidus, but of a different ſpirit, propoſed to provide by a Decree of Senate, 'that the Magiſtrates of the ſeveral Pro-'vinces, however innocent themſelves, and even 'unacquainted with the miſmanagement of others, 'ſhould yet be equally puniſhed for the crimes of 'their wives, as for their own.'

The next proceeding was againſt Calpurnius Piſo, a man of noble deſcent, and an undaunted heart. For, it was he who, as I have related, loudly proteſted in the Senate, 'that he would 'abandon Rome, to eſcape the implacable bands 'of the accuſers;' it was he who had, in defiance of the power of Auguſta, dared to proſecute her favourite Urgulania, and to demand her out of the palace of the Emperor. All which Tiberius paſſed over for the preſent courteouſly; but in a ſoul like his, brooding over vengeance, though the tranſports of reſentment had abated, the deep impreſſions remained. Quintus Granius charged Piſo with treaſonable words privately uttered againſt the Majeſty of the Emperor; and added, 'that 'he kept poiſon in his houſe, and came into the 'Senate armed with a dagger;' an article too heinous to be true, and therefore dropped. Yet for other crimes, which were accumulated manifold, he was put upon his trial, but, through the intervention of a ſeaſonable death, never condemned. Then too came before them the buſineſs of Caſſius Severus, the exile, a man ſordid in his birth, in his life miſchievous, but a powerful ſpeaker, who in conſequence of the enemies he had made, powerful and many without meaſure, had drawn upon himſelf an order of Senate, paſſed with the ſolemnity of ſwearing, for his baniſhment into Crete; where, by following continually his wonted practices, he excited a combination of old enmi-

ties,

ties and new: So that he was now bereft of his eſtate, interdicted from fire and water, and grew old in exile upon the rocks of Seriphos.

About the ſame time Plautius Silvanus the Prætor, for what cauſe is uncertain, killed Apronia his wife, by throwing her headlong. When he was carried by Apronius his father-in-law, before the Emperor, he anſwered, in confuſion of ſpirit, 'as if, while he was found aſleep, and unapprized, his wife had wilfully diſpatched herſelf.' Tiberius inſtantly haſted to viſit the chamber, where were ſtill apparent the marks of his violence and her ſtruggling. This he reported to the Senate, and Judges being appointed, Urgulania the grandmother of Plautius ſent him a dagger, which it was believed ſhe did by the advice of Tiberius, in regard of the friendſhip of Auguſta for her. The criminal having in vain eſſayed to uſe the ſteel, cauſed his veins to be opened. Preſently after Numantina, his former wife, was accuſed of having by charms and potions diſordered the underſtanding of her huſband, but declared innocent.

This year, at laſt, relieved the Romans from a long war with Tacfarinas the Numidian. For, the former Generals, as ſoon as they believed their exploits had intitled them to the ornaments of triumph, always abandoned the enemy. Inſomuch that there were already in Rome three Statues adorned with victorious laurel, and ſtill Tacfarinas ravaged Africa. He was ſtrengthened by auxiliaries from the Moors, who, governed by Royal freedmen under the thoughtleſs reign of the youth their King, (Ptolemy ſon of Juba) had exchanged even for war the domeſtic domination of ſlaves. For the harbourer of his plunder, and partner in depredations, he had the King of the Garamantes; not that this King marched at the head of an army, but only detached out light parties, which

were magnified by great diſtance and report. From the province itſelf too flowed in all that were indigent in their fortune, all that were diſorderly in their lives, the more readily, becauſe the Emperor, after the feats performed by Blæſus, as if there had no longer remained any enemy in Africa, had ordered the ninth Legion to be brought back; nor durſt Publius Dolabella, that year Proconſul there, retain it, as he dreaded more the orders of the Prince, than the caſualties of the war.

Tacfarinas therefore diſperſed a rumour, 'that 'ſeveral other nations too were tearing piecemeal 'the Roman ſtate; hence their forces were by 'degrees drawing off from Africa; and the re-'mainder might be wholly deſtroyed, if all, to 'whom liberty was dearer than bondage, would 'with all their might, engage them.' By this rumour his forces were augmented, and he begirt the city of Thubuſcum. But Dolabella, drawing together what ſoldiers there were, at his firſt approach raiſed the ſiege, by the terror of the Roman name, and as the Numidians can never ſtand the attack of our foot. He likewiſe fortified the proper places, and at the ſame time executed the chiefs of the Muſulanians, juſt ready to revolt. Now, becauſe by many expeditions againſt Tacfarinas, it was manifeſt that, not by a heavy army and a ſingle onſet, ſuch a rambling foe was to be effectually puſhed; the Proconſul having therefore called to his aid King Ptolemy, with a body of his ſubjects the Moors, formed four bands. Theſe he committed to the Commanders of the Legions and Tribunes; certain parties appointed to ſcour and pillage the country, were conducted by ſome choſen Moors; he himſelf moved from quarter to quarter, to direct the whole.

Not long after tydings came, 'that the Numi-'dians had pitched their huts about a ruinous 'caſtle,

'castle, burnt down formerly by themselves, its 'name Auzea, trusting now to its situation, be- 'cause it was shut in on every side by vast forests.' Forthwith were dispatched the horse and foot, a rapid march, themselves not knowing whither; and just at dawn of day, with trumpets sounding, and dreadful shouts, they were upon the Barbarians still half asleep, their horses fettered, or straggling loosly at grass. The Romans were come prepared, their foot in close array, their troops marshalled, all things disposed for battle; the enemy, on the contrary, intirely unapprized, without arms, or order, or counsel, were, with the passiveness of sheep, caught, slaughtered, and dragged away captive. The soldiers, embittered by the remembrance of all their labours, and against a foe which had so long eluded the fight so often courted, had each his fill of vengeance and blood. Through all the ranks the word ran, 'that they must particu- 'larly make sure of Tacfarinas, known to them 'all by so many conflicts; nothing besides killing 'the leader could extinguish the war.' His Guards were already fallen round him, his son was already in bonds, and the Romans on every side pouring upon him; he therefore desperately rushed amongst the darts, and by a death accompanied with many of ours, escaped captivity. And thus was an end put to the war.

Dolabella desired the ensigns of triumph, but was refused by Tiberius, in compliment to Sejanus, that the late glory of his uncle Blæsus might not thence be obliterated. But this derived no new lustre upon Blæsus, while to Dolabella more glory accrued from honour denied, since with a smaller army he had slain the General, led many distinguished captives, and bore the renown of having wholly concluded the war. He was also attended with Embassadors from the Garamantes, a rare

ſight in Rome! That nation, ſtruck with the death of Tacfarinas, and conſcious of guilt, had ſent them to appeaſe the reſentment of the Roman people. And now that the zeal of Ptolemy, during that war was known, in his favour was revived a cuſtom of remote antiquity, and one of the Senators ſent to deliver him the ivory ſtaff and painted robe; (the uſual preſents of the ancient Roman Senate) and to ſalute him *King*, *Friend*, and *Confederate*.

The ſame ſummer, the ſeeds of a ſervile war ſpreading through Italy, were by chance ſuppreſſed. The author of the ſtir was Titus Curtiſius, formerly a ſoldier of the Prætorian Guards. His firſt eſſays were at clandeſtine meetings in Brunduſium, and the neighbouring towns; afterwards by declarations publicly hung up, he was inciting to liberty the Agrarian ſlaves, who, from living in wild and remote foreſts, were themſelves wild and fierce; when, as it were, by the benignity of the Gods, three galleys belonging to the merchants landed on that coaſt. Curtius Lupus too, the Quæſtor, was then in theſe parts, as to him had fallen for his juriſdiction, according to ancient eſtabliſhment, the reſtraining of robberies in the woods and roads of the foreſts. Lupus marſhalled the ſeamen, and by them defeated the conſpiracy, juſt breaking out; ſo that Staius the Tribune diſpatched thither by the Emperor, with a ſtout band, dragged the leader himſelf and his moſt reſolute partizans to Rome, which was already in a terror, on account of the multitude of domeſtic ſlaves, that were ſtill augmenting immenſly, while the genuine commonalty daily dwindled.

During the ſame Conſuls, were brought into the Senate a father arraigned, and his ſon the accuſer, both named Vibius Serenus; a ſad example of horror and calamity of the times! the father already an exile, now haled back to a freſh trial, covered with rags

rags and naſtineſs, then too bound in chains, heard himſelf impleaded by his ſon. The young man, dreſſed with mighty elegance, with a countenance chearful and elate, alledged 'a plot framed againſt 'the Emperor, and that ſome of the conſpirators 'were ſent into Gaul, to inſtigate a rebellion 'there.' Thus he became againſt his father a witneſs as well as an informer. He likewiſe 'charged Cæcilius Cornutus, formerly Prætor, 'with having furniſhed money.' Cornutus had, in truth, with his own hands diſpatched himſelf, only from the pain of anxiety, and becauſe he held accuſation for a certain ſignal of deſtruction. The accuſed, on the other ſide, with a ſpirit nothing dejected, turning full upon his ſon, and ſhaking his chains, invoked 'the avenging Gods, that to 'himſelf they would firſt reſtore his place of exile, 'where, far from ſuch direful doings he might paſs 'his days; and that juſt vengeance might one day 'overtake his ſon.' He inſiſted too, 'that Cor-'nutus was innocent, and only terrified with forged 'crimes, as might be eaſily learnt, if other ac-'complices were produced; for it was not proba-'ble that, with one confederate only, he ſhould 'have meditated the murder of the Prince, and a 'change of the State.'

The accuſer then named Cneius Lentulus, and Seius Tubero, to the great confuſion of Tiberius, when men of the firſt figure in Rome, his own intimate friends, Lentulus extremely old, Tubero broken with infirmities, were charged with deviſing hoſtile inſurrections againſt the State. But they were both paſſed over without a pauſe. Againſt the father his ſlaves were examined upon the rack; and their examination went againſt the accuſer, who, diſtracted with guilt, and frightened beſides with the threatnings of the populace, dooming him

to the dungeon, the rack, and the pains of parricide, fled out of Rome. He was dragged back from Ravenna, and compelled to profecute his accufation; Tiberius, no wife concealing his old hatred to the exile Serenus, for that, after the condemnation of Libo, he had by letters upbraided the Emperor, that his fignal zeal in that trial remained without reward; he had likewife inferted fome expreffions more contumacious than fafe in the tender ears of a Prince naturally proud and prone to refentment. His words were eight years after rehearfed by Tiberius, who alfo charged him with many mifdemeanors during that interval, though through the obftinacy of his flaves nothing, he faid, could be difcovered by torture.

The votes being taken, and Serenus fentenced ‘ to death, according to the rigour of antiquity,’ Tiberius, to foften the public odium, oppofed it. Then Afinius Gallus propofed, ‘ to fhut him up ‘ in the ifle of Gyarus or Donufa:’ a motion which Tiberius alfo rejected, arguing, ‘ that both ‘ thefe ifles were deftitute of water, and that to ‘ whom they granted life, the conveniencies of ‘ life ought likewife to be granted.’ Thus Serenus was carried back to Amorgos. And now that Cornutus had died by his own hands, it was moved, ‘ to abrogate the rewards of the accufers, as often ‘ as any perfon, charged with treafon, fhould, ‘ before judgment paffed, put an end to his own ‘ life.’ And this motion had been followed, but that Tiberius complained, with fternnefs, and now, contrary to his wonted referves, an open advocate for the accufers, ‘ that by it the laws would be de- ‘ feated, and the Commonwealth overthrown; ‘ let them rather, he faid, diffolve the laws, than ‘ difmifs their guardians.’ Thus the accufers, a fort of men formed for the deftruction of human kind,

kind, and indeed, by no pains or terrors, ever ſufficiently curbed, were now allured and prompted by wages.

In ſuch a continued ſeries of doleful proceedings, a ſmall inſtance of joy intervened; Caius Cominius a Roman Knight, convicted of a ſcurrilous Poem againſt the Emperor, was pardoned by him at the ſupplication of his brother, who was a Senator. Hence it was reckoned the more aſtoniſhing, that he who knew better things, and what public renown attended clemency, ſhould yet rather chuſe the ways of tyranny and horror. For neither did he tranſgreſs through want of diſcernment; nor is it ever too intricate to be diſtinguiſhed, whether the doings of Princes be applauded with ſincerity, or whether only with the falſe guiſe of joy. Nay, Tiberius himſelf, who, upon other occaſions, ſtudied his words, and whoſe ſpeech ſeemed to labour, yet, whenever he ſpoke as an advocate, ſpoke with readineſs and volubility. At this time, Publius Suilius, formerly Quæſtor to Germanicus, now convicted of having taken money in an affair where he was to decree as a Judge, was, for his puniſhment, to be expelled Italy; a ſentence too mild for the Emperor, who adjudged him to baniſhment into an Iſland, with ſuch impetuoſity, that, with the tye and ſolemnity of an oath, he declared it 'for the intereſt of the Common-wealth;' a behaviour which at that time was ſharply cenſured, but turned afterwards to his praiſe, when Suilius was again returned to Rome, a following reign ſaw that exile a powerful minion, and an abandoned mercenary, one who long poſſeſſed the confidence of Claudius powerfully, but never honeſtly. Catus Firmius the Senator, was adjudged to the ſame puniſhment, 'for having forged treaſonable crimes 'againſt his own ſiſter.' Catus, as I have before declared, had lured Libo into his pernicious ſnares,

and then, by informing againſt him, procured his overthrow. Tiberius, mindful of this ſervice, but pretending other motives, beſought a reverſal of the ſentence of baniſhment, but to his expulſion from the Senate, made no oppoſition.

I am aware, that moſt of the tranſactions which I have already related, or ſhall hereafter relate, may, perhaps, appear minute, and too trivial to be remembered. But, none muſt compare theſe my Annals with the writings of thoſe who compiled the Story of the ancient Roman people. They had for their ſubjects mighty wars, potent cities ſacked, great Kings routed and taken captive; or, if they ſometimes reviewed the domeſtic affairs of Rome, they there found the mutual ſtrife and animoſities of the Conſuls and Tribunes, the Agrarian and Frumentary laws, puſhed and oppoſed, and the ſtruggles between the Nobles and Populace; noble topics, and recounted by the old Hiſtorians with free ſcope. To me remains a ſtreightened taſk, and void of glory, ſteady peace, or ſhort intervals of war, the proceedings at Rome ſad and tragical, and a Prince careleſs of extending the Empire. Nor yet will it be without its profit to look minutely into ſuch tranſactions, as, however ſmall at firſt view, give often riſe and motion to great events.

For, all nations and cities are governed either by the populace, by the nobility, or by ſingle rulers. The frame of a ſtate choſen and compacted out of all theſe three, is eaſier applauded than accompliſhed, or if accompliſhed, cannot be of long duration. So that, as during the Republic, either when the power of the people prevailed, or when the Senate bore the chief ſway; it was neceſſary to know the genius of the commonalty, and by what meaſures they were to be humoured and reſtrained; and ſuch too who were thoroughly acquainted

quainted with the ſpirit of the Senate and leading men, came to be eſteemed ſkilful in the times, and men of proweſs: ſo now, when that eſtabliſhment is changed, and the preſent ſituation ſuch, that one rules all; it is of of advantage to collect and record theſe later incidents, as matters of public example and inſtruction; ſince few can, by their own wiſdom, diſtinguiſh between things crooked and upright, few between counſels pernicious and profitable, and ſince moſt men are taught by the fate and example of others. But the preſent detail, however inſtructive, yet brings ſcanty delight. It is by the deſcriptions and accounts of nations, by the variety of battles, by the memorable fall of illuſtrious Captains, that the ſoul of the reader is engaged and refreſhed. For myſelf, I can only give a ſad diſplay of cruel orders, inceſſant accuſations, faithleſs friendſhips, the deſtruction of innocents, and endleſs trials, all attended with the ſame iſſue, death and condemnation; an obvious round of repetition and ſatiety! Beſides that the old Hiſtorians are rarely cenſured; nor is any man now concerned whether they chiefly magnify the Roman or Carthaginian armies. But, of many who under Tiberius ſuffered puniſhment, or were marked with infamy, the poſterity are ſtill ſubſiſting; or if the families themſelves are extinct, there are others found, who from a ſimilitude of manners, think that, in reciting the evil doings of others, they themſelves are charged: nay, even virtue and a glorious name create foes, as they expoſe in a light too obvious the oppoſite characters. But I return to my undertaking.

Whilſt Cornelius Coſſus and Aſinius Agrippa were Conſuls, Cremutius Cordus was arraigned, for that, 'having publiſhed Annals, and in them 'praiſed Brutus, he had ſtiled Caſſius the laſt of 'the Romans;' a new crime, then firſt created.

Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta were his accuſers, creatures of Sejanus; a mortal omen this to be accuſed; beſides that Tiberius received his defence with an implacable countenance. He began it on on this wiſe, caſting away all hopes of life:

'As to facts, I am ſo guiltleſs, Conſcript Fathers, that my words only are accuſed; but neither are any words of mine pointed againſt the Emperor, or his Mother, the only perſons comprehended in the Law concerning violated Majeſty. It is alledged, that I have praiſed Brutus and Caſſius, men whoſe lives and actions have been compiled by a cloud of writers, and their memory treated by none but with honour. Titus Livius, an hiſtorian eminently famous for eloquence and veracity, celebrated Pompey with ſuch abundant encomiums, that he was thence by Auguſtus named Pompeianus; nor did this prejudice their common friendſhip. Neither Scipio, nor Afranius, nor even this ſame Caſſius, nor this ſame Brutus, are any where mentioned by him as *traitors* and *parricides*, the common nicknames now beſtowed on them, but often as great and memorable men. The writings of Aſinius Pollio have conveyed down the memory of the ſame men under honourable characters. Corvinus Meſſala gloried to have had Caſſius for his General: Yet both Pollio and Corvinus became ſignally powerful in wealth and honours under Auguſtus. That Book of Cicero's, in which he exalted Cato to the ſkies, what other animadverſion did it draw from Cæſar the Dictator, than a written reply, in the ſame ſtile and equality as if before his Judges he had made it? The letters of Marc Anthony, the ſpeeches of Brutus, are full of reproaches, and recriminations againſt Auguſtus, falſe in truth, but urged with ſignal aſperity. The Poems of Bi-

'baculus.

'baculus and thoſe of Catullus, ſtuffed with virulent ſatires againſt the Cæſars, are ſtill read. 'But even the deified Julius, even the deified 'Auguſtus, bore all theſe invectives, and left 'them unſuppreſſed, whether with greater mode'ration or wiſdom, I cannot eaſily ſay. For, if 'they are deſpiſed, they fade away; if you wax 'wrath, you ſeem to avow them for true.

'Inſtances from the Greeks I bring none: with 'them not the freedom only, but even the licen'tiouſneſs of ſpeech, is unpuniſhed; or if any cor'rection be returned, it is only by revenging 'words with words. It has been ever allowed, 'without reſtriction or rebuke, to paſs our judg'ment upon thoſe whom death has withdrawn 'from the influence of affection and hate. Are 'Caſſius and Brutus now in arms? Do they at 'preſent fill with troops the fields of Philippi? Or 'do I fire the Roman people, by inflammatory 'harangues, with the ſpirit of civil rage? Brutus 'and Caſſius, now above ſeventy years ſlain, are 'ſtill known in their Statues, which even the con'queror did not aboliſh; and what do the Hiſto'rians, but preſerve their characters? Impartial 'poſterity to every man repays his proper praiſe; 'nor will there be wanting ſuch as, if my death 'is determined, will not only revive the ſtory of 'Caſſius and Brutus, but even my ſtory.' Having thus ſaid, he withdrew from the Senate, and ended his life by abſtinence. The Fathers condemned the Books to be burned by the Ædiles; but they ſtill continued to be ſecretly diſperſed. Hence we may juſtly mock the ſtupidity of thoſe, who imagine that they can, by preſent power, extinguiſh the lights and memory of ſucceeding times; for, quite otherwiſe, the puniſhment of writers exalts the credit of the writings; nor did ever foreign Kings, or any elſe, who exerciſed the like

cruelty, reap other fruit from it, than infamy to themſelves, and glory to the ſufferers.

Now for this whole year the courſe of accuſations was ſo conſtant, that even during the ſolemnity of the Latin feſtival, when Druſus for his inauguration, as Governor of Rome, had aſcended the Tribunal, he was accoſted by Calpurnius Salvianus with a charge againſt Sextus Marius; a proceeding openly reſented by the Emperor, and thence Salvianus was baniſhed. The city of Cyzicus was accuſed, 'of not obſerving the worſhip 'of the deified Auguſtus;' with additional crimes, 'of violences committed upon ſome Roman citi-'zens.' Thus that city loſt her liberties, which by her behaviour during the Mithridatic war, ſhe had purchaſed, having in it ſuſtained a ſiege, and as much by her own bravery, as by the aid of Lucullus, repulſed the King. But Fonteius Capito, who had as Proconſul governed Aſia, was acquitted, upon proof that the crimes brought againſt him by Vibius Serenus were forged. Yet the forgery drew no penalty upon Serenus; nay, the public hate rendered him the more ſecure; for, every accuſer, the more eager and inceſſant he was, the more ſacred and inviolable he became. Only the ſorry and impotent were ſurrendered to chaſtiſement.

About the ſame time, the furthermoſt Spain beſought the Senate by their ambaſſadors, 'that, af-'ter the example of Aſia, they might erect a 'Temple to Tiberius and his Mother.' Upon this occaſion, the Emperor, always reſolute in contemning honours, and now judging it proper to confute thoſe, who expoſed him to the popular cenſure, of having deviated into ambition, ſpoke in this manner. 'I know, Conſcript Fathers, 'that it is aſcribed to a defect of firmneſs in me, 'that when the cities of Aſia petitioned for this very

'very thing, I withſtood them not. I ſhall there-
'fore now unfold at once the motives of my
'ſilence then, and the rules which for the future I
'am determined to obſerve. Since the deified Au-
'guſtus had not oppoſed the founding at Perga-
'mus a Temple to himſelf and the city of Rome,
'I, with whom all his actions and ſayings have
'the force of laws, followed an example already
'approved, becauſe to the worſhip beſtowed upon
'me, that of the Senate was annexed. But as
'the indulging of this, in one inſtance, will find
'pardon; ſo a general latitude of being adored
'through every province, under the ſacred repre-
'ſentations of the Deities, would denote a vain
'ſpirit, a heart ſwelled with ambition. The glory
'too of Auguſtus will evaniſh, if by the promiſ-
'cuous courtſhip of flattery it comes to be pro-
'ſtituted.

'For myſelf, Conſcript Fathers, I am a mortal
'man; I am confined to the functions of human
'nature; and if I well ſupply the principal place
'amongſt you, it ſuffices me. This I acknow-
'ledge to you, and this acknowledgment I would
'have poſterity to remember. They will do
'abundant right to my memory, if they believe
'me to have been worthy of my anceſtors, watch-
'ful of the Roman ſtate, unmoved in perils, and
'in maintaining the public intereſt, fearleſs of pri-
'vate enmities. Theſe are the Temples which
'in your breaſts I would raiſe, theſe the faireſt
'pourtraitures, and ſuch as will endure. As to
'Temples and Statues of ſtone, if the Idol adored
'in them come to be hated by poſterity, they are
'deſpiſed as his ſepulchres. I here therefore in-
'voke the Gods, that to the end of my life they
'would grant me a ſpirit undiſturbed, and diſcern-
'ing in duties human and divine: hence too I
'here implore our Citizens and Allies, that when-

ever

'ever my diſſolution comes, they would with appro-
'bation and benevolent teſtimonies of remem-
'brance, celebrate my actions and retain the
'odour of my name.' And thenceforward he per-
ſevered in ſlighting, upon all occaſions, and even in private converſation, this divine worſhip of himſelf. A conduct by ſome aſcribed to modeſty, by many to a conſcious diffidence, by others to degeneracy of ſpirit; 'ſince the moſt ſublime
'amongſt men naturally covet the moſt exalted ho-
'nours: thus Hercules and Bacchus amongſt the
'Greeks, and with us Romulus, were added to
'the ſociety of the Gods. Auguſtus too had
'choſen the nobler part, and hoped for deification.
'All the other gratifications of Princes were in-
'ſtantly procured; one only was to be purſued in-
'ſatiably, the praiſe and perpetuity of their name.
'For by contemning fame, the virtues that pro-
'cure it, are contemned.'

Now Sejanus, intoxicated with exceſs or fortune, and moreover ſtimulated by the importunity of Livia, who, with the reſtleſs paſſion of a woman, craved the promiſed marriage, compoſed a Memorial to the Emperor. For, it was then the cuſtom to apply to him in writing, though he were preſent. This of Sejanus was thus conceived; 'that
'ſuch had been towards him the benevolence of
'Auguſtus, ſuch and ſo numerous, ſince, the in-
'ſtances of affection from Tiberius, that he was
'thence accuſtomed, without applying to the Gods,
'to carry his hopes and prayers directly to the
'Emperors. Yet of them he had never ſought a
'blaze of honours; watching and toils like thoſe
'of common ſoldiers, for the ſafe-guard of the
'Prince, had been his choice and ambition. How-
'ever, what was moſt glorious for him he had at-
'tained, to be thought worthy of alliance with
'the Emperor; hence the ſource of his preſent

'hopes,

'hopes, and, ſince he had heard that Auguſtus, 'in the diſpoſal of his daughter, had not been 'without thoughts even of ſome of the Roman 'Knights; he begged, that if a huſband were 'ſought for Livia, Tiberius would remember his 'friend, one whoſe ambition aimed no higher than 'the pure and diſintereſted glory of the affinity. 'For he would never abandon the burden of his 'preſent truſt, but hold it ſufficient to be enabled 'to ſupport his houſe againſt the injurious wrath 'of Agrippina; and in this he only conſulted the 'ſecurity of his children. For himſelf; his own 'life would be abundantly long, whenever finally 'ſpent in the miniſtry of ſuch a Prince.'

For a preſent anſwer, Tiberius praiſed the loyalty of Sejanus, civilly recounted the inſtances of his own favours towards him, and required time, as it were for a thorough deliberation. At laſt he made this reply; 'that all other men were, in their 'purſuits, guided by the notions of conveniency; 'far different was the lot and ſituation of Princes, 'who were in their actions to conſider chiefly the 'applauſe and good liking of the public. He 'therefore did not delude Sejanus with an obvious 'and plauſible anſwer; that Livia could herſelf 'determine whether, after Druſus, ſhe ought 'again to marry, or ſtill perſiſt his widow, and 'that ſhe had a mother and grand-mother, nearer 'relations and more intereſted, to adviſe. He 'would deal more candidly with him; and firſt as 'to the enmity of Agrippina, it would flame out 'with freſh fury, if, by the marriage of Livia, the 'family of the Cæſars were rent, as it were, into 'two contending parties; even as things ſtood, 'the emulation of theſe Ladies broke into frequent 'ſallies, and, by their animoſities, his grand-ſons 'were inſtigated different ways. What would be 'the conſequence, if, by ſuch a marriage, the

'ſtrife

'ſtrife were inflamed: For you are deceived, Se-
'janus, if you think to continue then in the ſame
'rank as now; or that Livia, ſhe who was firſt
'the wife of the young Caius Cæſar, and afterwards
'of Druſus, will be of a temper to grow old with
'a huſband no higher than a Roman Knight. Nay,
'allowing that I ſuffered you afterwards to remain
'what you are; do you believe that they who ſaw
'her father, they who ſaw her brother, and the
'anceſtors of our houſe, covered with the ſupreme
'dignities, will ever ſuffer it? You, in truth, pro-
'poſe, to ſtand ſtill in the ſame ſtation; but the
'great Magiſtrates and Grandees of the ſtate,
'thoſe very Magiſtrates and Grandees who, in
'ſpight of yourſelf, break in upon you, and in all
'affairs court you as their Oracle, make no ſecret
'of maintaining that you have long ſince exceeded
'the bounds of the Equeſtrian Order, and far out-
'gone in power all the confidents of my father;
'and from their hatred to you, they alſo cenſure
'me. But, it ſeems, Auguſtus deliberated about
'giving his daughter to a Roman Knight. Where
'is the wonder, if, perplexed with a crowd of di-
'ſtracting cares, and apprized to what an un-
'bounded height above others he raiſed whomſo-
'ever he dignified with ſuch a match, he talked
'of Proculeius, and ſome like him, remarkable
'for the retiredneſs of their life, and no wiſe en-
'gaged in the affairs of ſtate? But if we are in-
'fluenced by the heſitation of Auguſtus, how
'much more powerful is his deciſion, ſince he be-
'ſtowed his daughter on Agrippa, and then on
'me? Theſe are conſiderations which in friend-
'ſhip I have not with-held; however, neither
'your own inclinations, nor thoſe of Livia, ſhall
'be ever thwarted by me. The ſecret and con-
'ſtant purpoſes of my own heart towards you, and
'with what further ties of affinity, I am contriv-
'ing

'ing to bind you ſtill faſter to me, I at preſent 'forbear to recount. Thus much only I will de-'clare, that there is nothing ſo high, but thoſe 'abilities, and your ſingular zeal and fidelity to-'wards me, may juſtly claim, as, when oppor-'tunity preſents, either in Senate, or in a popular 'aſſembly, I ſhall not fail to teſtify.'

In anſwer to this, Sejanus, no longer ſolliciting the marriage, but filled with higher apprehenſions, beſought him 'to reſiſt the dark ſuggeſtions of 'ſuſpicion, to deſpiſe the pratings of the vulgar, 'nor to admit the malignant breath of envy.' And as he was puzzled about the crowds which inceſſantly haunted his houſe, leſt by keeping them off he might impair his power, or by encouraging them, furniſh a handle for criminal imputations, he came to this reſult, that he would urge the Emperor out of Rome, to ſpend his life remote from thence in delightful retirements. From this counſel he foreſaw many advantages; upon himſelf would depend all acceſs to the Emperor; all letters and expreſſes would, as the ſoldiers were the carriers, be in great meaſure under his direction; in a little time the Prince, now in declining age, and then ſoftened by receſs, would more eaſily transfer upon him the whole charge of the Empire; he ſhould be removed from the multitude of ſuch as to make their court, attended him at Rome, and thence one ſource of envy would be ſtopt. So that by diſcharging the empty phantoms of power, he ſhould augment the eſſentials. He therefore began by little and little to rail at the hurry of buſineſs at Rome, the throng of people, the flock of ſuitors; he applauded 'retirement and quiet, where, 'while they were ſeparate from irkſome fatigues, 'nor expoſed to the diſcontents and reſentments of 'particulars, all affairs of moment were beſt diſ-'patched.'

Oppor-

Opportunely for Sejanus, there happened about that time the trial of Votienus Montanus, a man of celebrated wit; a trial which determined Tiberius to ſhun all aſſemblies of the fathers, and thence eſcape hearing the true and painful reflections which to his face were there uttered. For, as Votienus was charged with contumelious ſpeeches againſt Cæſar; Æmilius the witneſs, a man of the ſword, from a zeal to make good his evidence, rehearſed every tittle he had heard, and, notwithſtanding the clamour raiſed to ſtop his mouth, he perſiſted in the detail with notable obſtinacy. By this means Tiberius heard the bitter reproaches by which he was ſecretly goaded, and was ſo ſtricken, that he waxed vehement, and cried, 'he would inſtantly 'clear himſelf in their preſence, or before an aſ-'ſembly of the people;' nor ſcarce could the prayers of his particular friends, and flatteries of all, calm him. Votienus ſuffered the pains of treaſon. For Tiberius having learnt that he was upbraided with cruelty towards the accuſed, and growing thence more obſtinately cruel, puniſhed Aquila with exile, for adultery with Varius Ligur, though ſhe were already ſentenced by Lentulus Getulicus, Conſul elect, to the penalties of the Julian law. He alſo razed Apidius Merula from the liſt of Senators, 'becauſe he had not ſworn 'upon the Acts of the deified Auguſtus.'

Next were heard embaſſadors from the Lacedemonians and Meſſenians, about the right that each people claimed to the Temple of Diana Limenetis, which the Lacedemonians aſſerted to be theirs, 'founded in their territory, and dedicated by their 'anceſtors,' and offered as proofs the ancient authority of their Annals, and the Hymns of the old Poets; 'It had been in truth taken from them by 'the ſuperior force of Philip of Macedon, when 'at war with him, but afterwards reſtored by the

'judicial

'judicial deciſion of Julius Cæſar and Marc Antony.' The Meſſenians, on the contrary, pleaded, 'the ancient partition of Peloponneſus 'amongſt the deſcendants of Hercules, whence the 'territory where the Temple ſtood, had fallen to 'their King, and the monuments of that allotment ſtill remained, engraven in ſtone and old 'tables of braſs; but, if the teſtimony of Hiſtories and Poets were appealed to, they themſelves 'had the moſt and the fulleſt. Nor had Philip, 'in his deciſion, acted by power, but from equity; 'the ſame afterwards was the adjudgment of King 'Antigonus, the ſame that of the Roman Commander Mummius. Thus too the Mileſians had 'awarded, they who were by both ſides choſen 'arbitrators; and thus laſtly it had been determined by Attidius Geminus, Prætor of Achaia.' The Meſſenians therefore gained the ſuit. The citizens alſo of Segeſtum applied on behalf of the Temple of Venus on Mount Eryx, 'which, having fallen through age, they deſired might be reſtored.' They repreſented the ſtory of its Origin and Antiquity, a well pleaſing flattery to Tiberius, who frankly took upon himſelf the charge, as kinſman to the Goddeſs. Then was diſcuſſed the petition from the citizens of Marſeilles, and what they claimed according to the precedent of Publius Rutilius, was approved; for Rutilius, though by a law expelled from Rome, had been by thoſe of Smyrna adopted a citizen; and as Volcatius Moſchus, another exile, had found at Marſeilles the ſame privilege and reception, he had to their Republic, as to his country, bequeathed his eſtate.

There died this year thoſe noble Romans, Cneius Lentulus and Lucius Domitius. Lentulus to his public honours, thoſe of the conſulſhip, and the enſigns of triumph over the Getulæans, had added that of private poverty honourably borne, and

and afterwards the ſplendor of mighty wealth, virtuouſly acquired and modeſtly enjoyed. Upon Domitius devolved the luſtre of his father, who in the Civil War held the dominion of the ſea, till he eſpouſed firſt the intereſt of Marc Anthony, and anon that of Auguſtus. His grand-father had fallen for the cauſe of the Patriots and Senate, in the battle of Pharſalia. He himſelf was choſen for the huſband of the younger Antonia, daughter of Octavia. He afterwards led an army over the Elb, and advanced farther into Germany than any Roman before him. Theſe things procured him the enſigns of triumph. There alſo died Lucius Antonius, of a race greatly illuſtrious, but unhappy; for Julius Antonius his father having ſuffered death for adultery with Julia, Auguſtus removed this Lucius, then a child, and the grand-ſon of his ſiſter, to the city of Marſeilles, where, under the guiſe of his ſtudies, the name of his exile might be hid. To his death, however, public honour was paid, and by a decree of Senate his bones were repoſited in the tomb of the Octavii.

During the ſame Conſuls, a bloody aſſaſſination was perpetrated in the nethermoſt Spain, by a boor in the territory of Termes. By him Lucius Piſo, Governor of the Province, as he travelled careleſs and unattended, relying on the eſtabliſhed peace, was diſpatched at one deadly blow. The aſſaſſin, however, eſcaped to a foreſt, by the fleetneſs of his horſe, and there diſmiſſed him; from thence, travelling over rocks and pathleſs places, he baffled his purſuers; but his lurking laſted not long; for his horſe being taken and ſhewn through the neighbouring villages, it was thence learned who was the owner; ſo that he too was found: but when put to the rack to declare his accomplices, he proclaimed with a mighty and aſſured voice, in the language of his country, 'that in vain they queſtioned

'ſtioned him; his aſſociates might ſtand ſafely by
'and witneſs his conſtancy, for that no force of
'torture could be ſo exquiſite as from him to ex-
'tort a diſcovery.' Next day as he was dragged back to the rack, he burſt with a vehement effort from his guard, and daſhed his head ſo deſperately againſt a ſtone, that he inſtantly expired. Piſo is believed to have been aſſaſſinated by a plot of the Termeſtinians, as, in exacting the repayment of ſome money, ſeized from the public, he acted with more aſperity, than a rough people could bear.

In the Conſulſhip of Lentulus Getulicus and Caius Calviſius, the triumphal enſigns were decreed to Poppæus Sabinus, for having routed ſome clans of Thracians, who, living wildly on the high mountains, acted thence with more daring outrage and contumacy. The ground of their late commotion, not to mention the ſavage genius of the people, was their ſcorn and impatience, to ſee recruits raiſed amongſt them, and all their ſtouteſt men liſted in our armies, accuſtomed as they were not even to obey their native Kings further than their own humour, nor to aid them with forces but under Captains of their own chuſing, nor to fight againſt any enemy but their own borderers. Their diſcontents too were inflamed by a rumour then current amongſt them, that they were to be diſperſed into different regions, exterminated from their own, and to be mixed with other nations. But before they began hoſtilities, they ſent Embaſſadors to Sabinus, to repreſent 'their paſt 'friendſhip and ſubmiſſion, and that the ſame 'ſhould continue, if they were provoked by no 'freſh impoſitions; but if, like a people ſubdued 'by war, they were doomed to bondage, they 'had able men and ſteel, and ſouls determined up-'on liberty or death.' The Embaſſadors, at the ſame

ſame time, pointed to their ſtrong holds founded upon precipices, boaſted that they had thither conveyed their wives and parents, and indeed threatened a war intricate, hazardous, and bloody.

Sabinus amuſed them with gentle anſwers, till he could draw together his army, while Pomponius Labeo was advancing with a Legion from Mœſia, and King Rhemetalces with a body of Thracians who had not renounced their allegiance. With theſe, and what forces he had of his own, he marched towards the foe, now ſettled in the paſſes of the foreſt; ſome, more bold, preſented themſelves upon the hills. Againſt the laſt, the Roman General firſt bent his forces in battle, and without difficulty drove them thence, but with ſmall ſlaughter of the Barbarians, becauſe of their immediate refuge. Here he ſtreight raiſed an encampment, and with a ſtout band took poſſeſſion of a hill, which extended with an even narrow ridge to the next fortreſs, which was garriſoned by a great hoſt of armed men and rabble; and as the moſt reſolute were, in the way of the nation, rioting without the fortification in dances and ſongs, he forthwith diſpatched againſt them his ſelect archers. Theſe, while they only poured in volleys of arrows at a diſtance, did thick and extenſive execution; but, approaching too near, were by a ſudden ſally put in diſorder. They were however ſupported by a Cohort of the Sigambrians, purpoſely poſted by Sabinus in readineſs againſt an exigency, a people equally terrible in the boiſterous and mixed uproar of their voices and arms.

He afterwards pitched his camp nearer to the enemy, having in his former entrenchments left the Thracians, whom I have mentioned to have joined us. To them too was permitted ‘ to lay ‘ waſte, burn, and plunder, on condition that their

‘ ravages

'ravages were confined to the day, and that, at 'nights they kept within the camp, ſecure under 'guard.' This reſtriction was at firſt obſerved; but anon, falling into riot, as they grew opulent in plunder, they neglected their guards, and reſigned themſelves to gaiety and banquetting, to the intoxication and ſloth of wine and ſleep. The enemy therefore, apprized of their negligence, formed themſelves into two bands, one to ſet upon the plunderers, the other to aſſault the Roman camp, with no hopes of taking it, but only that the ſoldiers, alarmed with ſhouts and darts, and all intent upon their own defence, might not hear the dinn of the other battle; moreover, to heighten the terror, it was to be done by night. Thoſe who aſſailed the lines of the legions, were eaſily repulſed; but the auxiliary Thracians were terrified with the ſudden encounter, as they were utterly unprepared. Part of them lay along the entrenchments, many were roaming abroad; and both were ſlain with the keener vengeance, as they were upbraided 'for fugitives and traitors, who 'bore arms to eſtabliſh ſervitude over their coun-'try and themſelves.'

Next day Sabinus drew up his army in view of the enemy, on ground equal to both, to try, if, elated with their ſucceſs by night, they would venture a battle; and, when they ſtill kept within the fortreſs, or on the cluſter of hills, he began to begird them with a ſiege, and ſtrengthening his old lines, and adding new, encloſed a circuit of four miles. Then, to deprive them of water and forage, he ſtreightened his entrenchment by degrees, and hemmed them in ſtill cloſer. A bulwark was alſo raiſed, whence the enemy, now within throw, were annoyed with diſcharges of ſtones, darts, and fire. But nothing aggrieved them ſo vehemently as thirſt, whilſt only a ſingle fountain remained amongſt

amongſt a huge multitude of armed men and families; their horſes too and cattle, penned up with the people, after the barbarous manner of the country, periſhed for want of provender. Amongſt the carcaſſes of beaſts lay thoſe of men, ſome dead of thirſt, ſome of their wounds, on all hands a horrible ſcene of putrefaction, ſtench, and loathſomneſs. To theſe diſtreſſes alſo accrued the laſt and moſt conſummate of all calamities, that of diſcord; ſome were diſpoſed to ſurrender, others propoſed preſent death, and to fall upon one another. There were ſome too who adviſed a ſally, and to die avenging their deaths. Nor were theſe laſt mean men, though diſſenting from the reſt.

But one of their leaders, his name Dinis, a man ſtricken in years, by long experience acquainted with the power and clemency of the Romans, argued, 'that they muſt lay down their arms, the 'ſame being the ſole cure for their preſſing cala-'mities,' and was the firſt who ſubmitted, with his wife and children to the conqueror. There followed him all that were weak through ſex or age, and ſuch as had a greater paſſion for life than glory. The young men were parted between Tarſa and Tureſis, both determined to fall with liberty, but Tarſa declared earneſtly 'for inſtant 'death, ſince by it all hopes and fears were at 'once to be extinguiſhed,' and, ſetting an example, buried his ſword in his breaſt. Nor were there wanting ſome who diſpatched themſelves the ſame way. Tureſis and his band ſtaid for night; of which our General was aware. The guards were therefore ſtrengthened with extraordinary reinforcements; and now with the night darkneſs prevailed, its horror heightened by outragious rain; the enemy too with tumultuous ſhouts, and by turns with profound ſilence, alarmed and puzzled the beſiegers. Sabinus therefore going round the

camp,

camp, warned the ſoldiers, 'that they ſhould not 'be miſguided by the deceitful voice of uproar, 'nor truſt to a feigned calm, and thence open an 'advantage to the enemy, who by theſe wiles 'fought it; but keep immoveably to their ſeveral 'poſts, nor throw their darts at random.'

Juſt then came the Barbarians, pouring in droves; here, with ſtones, with wooden javelins hardened in the fire, and with the broken limbs of trees, they battered the paliſade; there with hurdles, faggots, and dead bodies, they filled the trench. By others, bridges and ladders, both before framed, were planted againſt the battlements, which they violently grappled and tore, and ſtruggled hand to hand with thoſe who oppoſed them. The Romans, on the other ſide, beat them back with their bucklers, drove them down with darts, and hurled upon them great mural ſtakes and heaps of ſtones. On both ſides were powerful ſtimulations; on ours, the hopes of victory almoſt gained, if we perſiſted, and thence the more glaring infamy, if we recoiled; on theirs, the laſt ſtruggle for their life, moſt of them too inſpired with the affecting preſence of their mothers and wives, and made deſperate by their dolorous wailings. The night was an advantage to the cowardly and the brave. Blows were dealt, the ſtriker knew not upon whom, and wounds received, the wounded knew not whence: ſuch was the utter indiſtinction of friend and foe. Moreover, the eccho from the cavities of the mountain repreſented to the Romans the ſhouts of the enemy as behind them, and created ſuch general diſorder and alarm, that in ſome places they deſerted their lines, as believing them already broken and entered; yet ſuch of the enemy as broke through were very few. All the reſt, their moſt reſolute champions being wounded or ſlain, were at the returning light driven

back to their fort; where they were at length forced to ſurrender; as did the places circumjacent of their own accord. The remainder could then be neither forced nor famiſhed; as they were protected by a furious winter, always ſudden about Mount Hæmus.

At Rome diſcord ſhook the Prince's family; and, to begin the ſeries of deſtruction which was to end in Agrippina, Claudia Pulchra her couſin was accuſed, Domitius Afer the accuſer. This man, juſt out of the Prætorſhip, in eſtimation ſmall, but haſty to ſignalize himſelf by ſome notable exploit, however heinous, alledged againſt her the 'crimes of proſtitution, of adultery with 'Furnius, of magical execrations, and poiſon pre-'pared againſt the life of the Emperor.' Agrippina, ever vehement, and then in a flame for the peril of her kinſwoman, flew to Tiberius, and by chance found him ſacrificing to the Emperor his father. Having got this handle for upbraiding him, ſhe told him, 'that it ill became the ſame man 'to ſlay victims to the deified Auguſtus, and to 'perſecute his children; his divine ſpirit was not 'transfuſed into dumb Statues; the genuine images 'of Auguſtus were the living deſcendents from his 'celeſtial blood; ſhe herſelf was one, one ſenſible 'of impending danger, and now in the mournful 'ſtate of a ſupplicant. In vain were foreign crimes 'pretended againſt Pulchra, when the only cauſe 'of her concerted overthrow was her affection for 'Agrippina, fooliſhly carried even to adoration; 'forgetful as ſhe was of the fate of Soſia, a con-'demned ſufferer for the ſame fault.' All theſe bitter words drew ſmall anſwer from the dark breaſt of Tiberius; he rebuked her, by quoting a Greek verſe, 'that ſhe was therefore aggrieved, 'becauſe ſhe did not reign.' Pulchra and Furnius were condemned. Afer, having thus diſplayed

played his genius, and gained a declaration from Tiberius, pronouncing him *eloquent in his own independent right*, was ranked with the moſt celebrated Orators. Afterwards, in proſecuting accuſations, or in protecting the accuſed, he flouriſhed more in the fame of eloquence than in that of uprightneſs. Old age, however, eminently ſunk the credit and vigour of his eloquence, whilſt, with parts decayed, he ſtill retained a paſſion for haranguing.

Agrippina ſtill foſtering her wrath, and ſeized too with a bodily diſorder, received the Emperor, come purpoſely to ſee her, with many tears and long ſilence. At laſt ſhe accoſted him with invidious expoſtulations and prayers, 'that he would 'relieve her ſolitude, and give her a huſband. 'She was ſtill endowed with proper youth; to 'virtuous women there was no conſolation but 'that of marriage, and Rome afforded illuſtrious 'men, who would readily aſſent to entertain the 'wife of Germanicus, and his children.' Tiberius was not ignorant to what mighty power in the State that demand tended; but, that he might betray no tokens of reſentment or fear, he left her, though inſtant with him, without an anſwer. This paſſage, not related by the Authors of our Annals, I found in the Commentaries of her daughter Agrippina, her who was the mother of the Emperor Nero, and has publiſhed her own life, with the fortunes of her family.

As to Agrippina, ſtill grieving and void of foreſight, ſhe was yet more ſenſibly diſmayed by an artifice of Sejanus, who employed ſuch as under colour of friendſhip warned her, 'that poiſon was 'prepared for her, and that ſhe muſt ſhun eating 'at her father-in-law's table.' She was a ſtranger to all diſſimulation; ſo that as ſhe ſat near him at table, ſhe continued ſtately and unmoved; not

a word, not a look eſcaped her, and ſhe touched no part of the meat. Tiberius obſerved her, whether accidentally, or that he was before apprized, and, to be convinced by a more powerful experiment, praiſing the apples that ſtood before him, preſented ſome with his own hand to his daughter-in-law. This only increaſed the ſuſpicion of Agrippina, and, without ever putting them to her mouth, ſhe delivered them to the waiters. For all this, the reſerved Tiberius let not a word drop from him openly, but, turning to his mother, 'It 'was no wonder, he ſaid, if he had really taken 'harſh meaſures with her who thus charged him 'as a poiſoner.' Hence a rumour ſpread, 'that 'her doom was contrived, and that the Emperor, 'not daring to purſue it publicly, choſe to have 'her diſpatched in ſecret.'

Tiberius, as a means to divert upon other matters the popular talk, attended aſſiduouſly the deliberations of the Senate, and there heard for many days the ſeveral Embaſſadors from Aſia, mutually contending, 'in what city ſhould be built the 'Temple lately decreed.' For this honour eleven cities ſtrove, with equal ambition, though different in power; nor did the pleas urged by all, greatly vary, namely, 'the antiquity of their 'original, and their diſtinguiſhed zeal for the Ro-'man people, during their ſeveral wars with Per-'ſeus, Ariſtonicus, and other Kings.' But, the Trallians, the Laodiceans, the Magneſians, and thoſe of the Hypæpis, were at once diſmiſſed, as inſufficient for the charge. Nor, in truth, had they of Ilium, who repreſented, 'that Troy was 'the mother of Rome,' any ſuperior advantage, beſides the glory of antiquity. The plea of the Halicarnaſſians took ſome ſhort conſideration; they aſſerted, 'that for twelve hundred years, no earth-'quake had ſhaken their town, and that they

'would

'would fix in a solid rock the foundations of 'the Temple.' The same considerations were urged by the inhabitants of Pergamus, where already was erected a Temple to Augustus; a distinction which was judged sufficient for them. The cities too of Ephesus and Miletus seemed fully employed in the ceremonies of their own distinct Deities, the former in those of Diana, the other in those of Apollo. Thus the dispute was confined to Sardes and Smyrna. The first recited a decree of the Etrurians, which owned them for kinsmen; 'for that Tyrrhenus and Lydus, sons 'of King Atys, having between them divided 'their people, because of their multitude, Lydus 'resettled in his native country, and it became 'the lot of Tyrrhenus to find out a fresh residence; 'and by the names of these chiefs the parted peo-'ple came afterwards to be called, Lydians in 'Asia, Tyrrhenians in Italy. That the opulence 'of the Lydians spread yet farther, by their Co-'lonies sent under Pelops into Greece, which 'from him afterwards took its name.' They likewise urged 'the letters of our Generals, their 'mutual leagues with us during the war of Ma-'cedon, their plenty of rivers, temperate cli-'mate, and the fertility of the circumjacent coun-'try.'

The Smyrneans having likewise recounted their ancient establishment, 'whether Tantalus, the 'son of Jupiter, or Theseus, the son also of a 'God, or one of the old Amazons, were their 'founder,' proceeded to considerations in which they chiefly trusted, their friendly offices to the Roman people, having aided them with a naval force, not in their foreign wars only, but in those which infested Italy. 'It was they who first 'reared a Temple to the city of Rome, in the 'Consulship of Marcus Porcius, then, in truth,

'when the power of the Roman people was al-
'ready mighty, but however not yet raiſed to its
'higheſt glory; for the city of Carthage ſtill ſtood,
'and potent Kings governed Aſia. Witneſs too
'their generoſity to Sylla, when the condition of
'his army, ready to famiſh in a cruel winter and
'a ſcarcity of cloaths, being related to the Citi-
'zens of Smyrna then aſſembled, all that were
'preſent diveſted themſelves of their rayments,
'and ſent them to our Legions.' Thus when the votes of the Senators were gathered, the pretenſions of Smyrna were preferred. It was alſo moved by Vibius Marſus, that Marcus Lepidus, to whom the province of Aſia had fallen, ſhould be attended by a Legate extraordinary to ſuperviſe the building of the Temple; and as Lepidus himſelf, through modeſty, declined to chuſe one, ſeveral who had been Prætors were drawn by lot, and the lot fell upon Valerius Naſo.

In the mean time, according to a purpoſe long meditated, and from time to time deferred, Tiberius at laſt retired to Campania, in profeſſion to dedicate a Temple to Jupiter at Capua, and one at Nola to Auguſtus; but in truth determined to remove, for ever, from Rome. The cauſe of his departure I have before referred to the ſtratagems of Sejanus; but though in it I have followed moſt of our authors, yet, ſince after the execution of Sejanus, he perſiſted for ſix years in the like dark receſs, I am rather influenced by a ſtronger probability, that the ground of his abſence is more juſtly to be aſcribed to his own ſpirit, while he ſtrove to hide in the ſhades of ſolitude, what in deeds he proclaimed, the rage of his cruelty and luſt. There were thoſe who believed that, in his old age, he was aſhamed of the figure of his perſon; for he was very lean, long and ſtooping, his head bald, his face ulcerous, and for the moſt beſmeared with

ſalves;

ſalves; he was moreover wont, during his receſs at Rhodes, to avoid the public, and cover his debauches in ſecrecy. It is alſo related, that he was driven from Rome by the reſtleſs aſpiring of his Mother, whom he ſcorned to admit a partner in the Sovereignty, nor yet could intirely ſeclude, ſince as her gift he had received the Sovereignty itſelf. For, Auguſtus had deliberated about ſetting Germanicus at the head of the Roman ſtate, his ſiſter's grandſon, and one adored by all men; but, ſubdued by the ſollicitations of his wife, he adopted Tiberius, and cauſed Tiberius to adopt Germanicus. With this grandeur of her own procuring, Livia upbraided her ſon, and even reclaimed it.

His going was narrowly accompanied by one Senator, Cocceius Nerva, formerly Conſul, and accompliſhed in the knowledge of the Laws, and, beſides Sejanus, by one dignified Roman Knight, Curtius Atticus. The reſt were men of Letters, chiefly Greeks, whoſe converſation pleaſed and amuſed him. The ſkilled in Aſtrology declared, 'That he had left Rome in ſuch a conjunction of 'the Planets, as for ever to exclude his return.' Hence a ſource of deſtruction to many, who conjectured his end to be at hand, and publiſhed their conjectures; for, it was an event too incredible to be foreſeen, that for eleven years he ſhould of choice be withdrawn from his country. The ſequel diſcovered the ſhort bounds between the art and the falſhood of the art, and what obſcurities perplex even the facts which it happens to foretell. *That he ſhould never return to Rome*, proved not to be falſly ſaid; as to every thing elſe about him they were perfectly in the dark, ſince he ſtill lived, never far diſtant, ſometimes in the adjacent champain, ſometimes on the neighbouring ſhore, often

under the very walls of the city, and died at laſt in the fulneſs and extremity of age.

There happened to Tiberius, about that time, an accident, which, as it threatened his life, fed the empty Prognoſtics at Rome; but to himſelf proved matter of more confidence in the friendſhip and faith of Sejanus. They were eating in a Cave at a villa, thence called *Spelunca*, between the Amyclean ſea and the mountains of Fundi. It was a native cave, and its mouth fell ſuddenly in, and buried under it ſome of the attendants; hence dread ſeized all, and they who were celebrating the entertainment, fled. As to Sejanus, he covered the Emperor's body with his own, and ſtooping upon his knees and hands, expoſed himſelf to the deſcending ruin. Such was the poſture he was found in by the ſoldiers who came to their relief. He grew mightier from thence; and being now conſidered by Tiberius as one regardleſs of himſelf, all his counſels, however bloody and deſtructive, were liſtened to with blind credulity; ſo that he aſſumed the office of a Judge againſt the offspring of Germanicus, and ſuborned ſuch as were to act the parts of accuſers, and eſpecially to purſue and blacken Nero, the next in ſucceſſion, a young prince modeſt indeed, but forgetful of that reſtraint and circumſpection which his preſent ſituation required. He was miſguided by his freedman and the retainers to his houſe, who, eager to be maſters of power, animated him with intemperate counſels, 'That he would ſhew a ſpirit reſolute 'and aſſured; it was what the Roman people 'wiſhed, what the armies longed for; nor would 'Sejanus dare then to reſiſt, though he now equally inſulted the tameneſs of an old man, and the 'ſloth of a young one.'

While he liſtened to theſe and the like ſuggeſtions, there eſcaped him, no expreſſions, in truth, of

of any criminal purpoſe, but ſometimes ſuch as were reſentful and unguarded; theſe were catched up by the ſpies placed upon him, and charged againſt him with aggravations; neither was he allowed the privilege of clearing himſelf. Several threatening appearances morever diſmayed him; ſome avoided to meet him; others having juſt paid him the ſalute, turned inſtantly away; many, in the midſt of converſation, broke off and left him, while the creatures of Sejanus ſtood ſtill fearleſly by, and ſneered upon him. For Tiberius; he always entertained him with a ſtern face, or a hollow ſmile; and whether the youth ſpoke or ſaid nothing, there were crimes in his words, crimes in his ſilence. Nor was he ſafe even in the dead of night, ſince his uneaſineſs and watchings, nay, his very ſighs, and dreams were, by his wife, divulged to her mother Livia, and by Livia to Sejanus, who had alſo drawn his brother Druſus into the combination, by tempting him with the immediate proſpect of Empire, if his elder brother, already ſinking, were once ſet effectually aſide. The genius of Druſus, naturally furious, inſtigated beſides by a paſſion for power, and by the uſual hate and competition between brothers, was further kindled by the partiality of Agrippina, who was fonder of Nero. However, Sejanus did not ſo far favour Druſus, but that againſt him too he was even then ripening the ſtudied meaſures of future deſtruction, as he knew him to be violent, and thence more obnoxious to ſnares.

In the end of the year departed theſe eminent perſons, Aſinius Agrippa, of anceſtors more illuſtrious than ancient, and in his own character not unworthy of them; and Quintus Haterius, of a Senatorian family, and himſelf, while he yet lived, famous for eloquence; but the monuments of his genius, ſince publiſhed, are not equally eſteemed.

In truth, he prevailed more by rapidity than accuracy; inſomuch that, as the elaborate compoſitions of others flouriſh after them, ſo that enchanting melody of voice in Haterius, with that fluency of words which was perſonal to him, died with him.

In the Conſulſhip of Marcus Licinius and Lucius Calpurnius, the caſualty of an inſtant, its beginning unforeſeen, and ended as ſoon as begun, equalled in calamity the ſlaughter and overthrow of mighty armies. One Atilius had undertaken to erect an Amphitheatre at Fidena, there to exhibit a combat of Gladiators; he was of the race of freedmen, and as he began it from no exuberance of wealth, nor to court popularity amongſt the inhabitants, but purely for the meanneſs of gain, he neither eſtabliſhed ſolid foundations, nor raiſed the timber-work with ſufficient compactneſs. Thither thronged from Rome thoſe of every ſex and age, eager for ſuch ſhews, as during the reign of Tiberius they were debarred from diverſions at home; and, the nearer the place, the greater the crowds. Hence the calamity was the more dreadful; for, as the Theatre was ſurcharged with the multitude, the ſtructure burſt, and ſinking violently in, while its extremities ruſhed impetuouſly out, huge was the preſs of people, who, intent upon the Gladiators within, or gathered round the walls, were cruſhed by the deadly ruin, and even buried under it. And verily, they who in the firſt fury of the havock were ſmitten with final death, eſcaped, as far as in ſuch a doleful diſaſter they could eſcape, the miſery of torture; much more to be lamented were thoſe, who, bereft of joints and pieces of their body, were yet not forſaken of life; thoſe who by day could with their eyes behold their wives and children impriſoned in the ſame ruins,

and

and by night could diſtinguiſh them by their groans, and howlings.

Now others from abroad excited by the ſad tidings, found here their ſeveral ſorrows; one bewailed his brother, one his kinſman, another his parents: even they whoſe friends or kindred were abſent on a different account, were yet terrified; for, as it was not hitherto diſtinctly known upon whom the deſtruction had lighted, the dread was widened by uncertainty. When the ruins began to be removed, great was the concourſe of the living about the dead, frequent the kiſſes and embraces of tenderneſs and ſorrow, and even frequent the contention about the propriety of the dead, where the features diſtorted by death or bruiſes, or where parity of age or reſemblance of perſon, had confounded the ſlain, and led into miſtakes their ſeveral claimers. Fifty thouſand people were deſtroyed or maimed by this ſad ſtroke; it was therefore for the future provided by a decree of Senate, 'That no man under the qualification of four 'hundred thouſand ſeſterces [a], ſhould exhibit the 'ſpectacle of Gladiators, and no Amphitheatre 'ſhould be founded but upon ground manifeſtly 'ſolid.' Atilius was puniſhed with exile. Now during the freſh pangs of this calamity, the doors of the Grandees were thrown open, medicines were every where furniſhed, and by proper hands adminiſtred; and at that juncture the City, though ſorrowful of aſpect, ſeemed to have recalled the public ſpirit of the ancient Romans, who, after great battles, conſtantly relieved the wounded, ſuſtained them by liberality, and reſtored them with care.

The public agonies from this terrible blow, were not yet deadened, when another ſupervened, and

* About ten thouſand Crowns.

the City felt the affliction and violence of fire, which with uncommon rage utterly consumed Mount Cælius. 'It was a deadly and mournful 'year, they said, and under boding omens the 'Prince had formed the design of his absence.' It is the way of the multitude, who to malignant counsels are wont to ascribe events altogether fortuitous. But the Emperor dissipated their murmurs, by bestowing on each sufferer money to the value of his sufferings; hence he had the thanks of men of rank, in the Senate, and was by the populace rewarded with applauses, 'for that, without the views of ambition, without the application of friends, he had, of his own accord, even 'sought out the unknown, and by his bounty relieved them.' It was likewise moved and decreed in Senate, 'That Mount Cælius should be 'for the future stiled *Mount Augustus*, since there 'the Statue of Tiberius, standing in the house of 'Junius the Senator, escaped unhurt in the flames, 'though devouring all round them.' It was remembered, 'that the same rare exemption had formerly happened to Claudia Quinta, that her 'Statue being twice spared by the fury of fire, had 'thence been placed and consecrated by our ancestors in the Temple of the Mother of the 'Gods. Thus sacred were the Claudian race, 'and dear to the Deities, and therefore the place, 'where the Gods had testified such mighty honour towards the Prince, ought to be dignified 'with consecration.'

It will not be impertinent to insert here, that this Mount was of old named *Querquetulanus*, from a grove of Oak which grew thick upon it. It was afterwards called *Mount Cælius*, from Cælius Vibenna, who, having led to Rome a body of Tuscan auxiliaries, was presented with that settlement by Tarquinius Priscus, or some other of our Kings,

for

for in this particular writers differ; about other circumſtances there remains no diſpute, that theſe forces were very numerous, and extended their dwellings all along the plain below, as far as the Forum. Hence the *Tuſcan ſtreet*, ſo called after theſe ſtrangers.

But as the univerſal zeal of the great men, and the bounties of the Prince, had adminiſtered public relief againſt the blind blows of fortune; ſo the ſtudied fury of the accuſers, which grew daily more prevailing and deadly, rioted in deſtruction without controul or alleviation. Quinctilius Varus, a wealthy man and the Emperor's couſin, was aſſailed by Domitius Afer, the ſame who had procured the condemnation of Claudia Pulchra his mother; nor did any man wonder that he who had long lived needy, and already waſted the reward lately earned, ſhould be prompt to engage in freſh iniquity and ſpoil. The amazement was, that Publius Dolabella appeared his aſſociate in the accuſation, becauſe, as he was nobly deſcended, he ſhipwrecked, by ſuch proſtitution, the antient glory of his houſe, and, being the kinſman of Varus, was wilfully ſpilling his own blood. The Senate, however, ſtemmed the proceſs, and voted, 'That the Emperor's return was to be 'awaited;' a temporary refuge, and the only one againſt theſe pointed and urging evils.

Tiberius, having dedicated the Temples in Campania, though he had by an Edict warned the public, 'that none ſhould interrupt his quiet,' and though ſoldiers were poſted to keep off all confluence from the neighbouring towns; nevertheleſs, hating the towns themſelves, and the colonies, and every part in the continent, impriſoned himſelf in Capreæ, an Iſland disjoined from the point of the Cape of Surrentum by a channel of three miles. I ſhould chiefly believe that he was taken

taken with its ſolitude, as the ſea about it is void of havens, as the ſtations for the ſmalleſt veſſels are few and difficult, and as none could put in unperceived by the Guards. The genius of the climate is mild in winter, from the ſhelter of a mountain which intercepts the rigour of the winds; its ſummers are refreſhed by gales from the Weſt, and the ſea open all round it, makes a delightful view. From thence too was beheld a moſt lovely landſkip, before the eruptions of Mount Veſuvius had changed the face of the proſpect. It is the tradition of fame, that the Greeks occupied the oppoſite region, and that Capreæ was particularly inhabited by the Teleboi. However it were, Tiberius then confined his retirement to twelve Villas, their names famous of old and their ſtructure ſumptuous. And the more intent he had formerly been upon public cares, he became now ſo much the more buried in dark debauches, and reſigned over to miſchievous privacy, for, there remained ſtill in him his old bent to ſuſpicions, and raſh faith in informers, qualities which even at Rome Sejanus had always foſtered, and here inflamed more vigorouſly; his devices againſt Agrippina and Nero being no longer a ſecret. About them Guards were placed, by whom every petty circumſtance, the meſſages they ſent or received, their viſits and company, their open behaviour, their private converſation, were all, as it were, minuted into journals. There were others too inſtructed to warn them to fly to the armies in Germany, or that, embracing the Statue of the deified Auguſtus in the great Forum, they would there implore the aid and protection of the Senate and people of Rome. And theſe counſels, though rejected by them, were fathered and charged upon them, as juſt ripe for execution.

Junius

Junius Silanus and Silius Nerva being Conſuls, the year began tragically, as Titius Sabinus, an illuſtrious Roman Knight, was hurried to priſon, his crime a conſtant friendſhip for Germanicus, whoſe wife and children, he only of all his followers, never ceaſed to reverence, never ceaſed to frequent them at home, never to attend them in public; a conſtancy applauded by the good, and grievous to their perſecutors. There combined againſt him Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, and Marcus Opſius, who having been all Prætors, were now all paſſionate for the Conſulſhip, to which there was no acceſs but by Sejanus, and the kindneſs of Sejanus to be purchaſed only by iniquity. It was ſettled amongſt them, that Latiaris, who had a ſmall acquaintance with Sabinus, ſhould manage the guile, the reſt be witneſſes, and then all together begin the accuſation. Latiaris therefore accoſted him at firſt with occaſional diſcourſe, and then proceeded to praiſe his conſtancy, 'that 'he had not, like others, been only a friend to 'that family in its glory, and deſerted it in affliction.' He at the ſame time ſpoke noble things of Germanicus, and bewailed Agrippina. This affected Sabinus; and, as the human ſoul is ſoftened by calamity and ſorrow, he burſt into tears and complaints, and, being heated, inveighed daringly againſt Sejanus, his cruelty, his pride, his traiterous deſigns; nor, in truth, did Tiberius eſcape his invectives. And now, as if they had mutually truſted each other with matters ſecret and forbidden, this their converſation created a ſhew of cloſe friendſhip; ſo that Sabinus henceforward ſought out Latiaris, frequented his houſe, and carried to him, as to a moſt faithful confident, all his griefs and diſcontents.

The next conſultation was, how to have theſe complaints and invectives uttered in the hearing of

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all four; for, the place in which they met to overhear, muſt retain a ſolemn look of ſecrecy; and if they ſtood behind the door, there was danger of being ſpied, or their own noiſe might diſcover them, or perhaps ſome ſudden apprehenſion might tempt Sabinus to inſpect. They therefore choſe the void over head, between the roof of the houſe and the covering of the room. Into this lurking-hole thruſt themſelves three Roman Senators, a concealment as vile, as the treachery for which they did it, was execrable, and there baſely liſtened, with their ears laid to the chaſms and crannies. Latiaris the while found out Sabinus abroad, and, as if full of ſome late diſcoveries which he meant to recount, drew him home, and into the ſubdolous chamber; there he diſplayed the paſt and inſtant cruelties (for of both there was abundant ſtore) with an accumulation too of freſh and impending terrors. Sabinus then took up his former detail and reſentments, and even with greater prolixity, as the diſcharges of grief once broached, are with difficulty reſtrained. This was enough; the accuſation was forthwith diſpatched, and, in a written Memorial to Tiberius, theſe Senators opened the order and dexterity of the fraud, and made him a narrative of their own deteſtable infamy. At no time was the city ever ſeized with deeper anxiety and dread; one relation feared another; men were afraid to meet, afraid to diſcourſe; ſilence and diſtruſt extended to ſtrangers and acquaintance, and both were equally avoided; even things dumb and inanimate, roofs and walls, raiſed terror and circumſpection.

The Emperor ſent preſently a Letter to the Senate, and, after the uſual compliment and wiſh at the entrance of the new year, fell upon Sabinus. He charged him with ‘ having corrupted ſome of ‘ his ſervants, and aimed at his own life;’ and,

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in words no wise obscure, required vengeance. The condemnation passed without delay, and the condemned was dragged away to instant death. His head was muffled in his robe, and his throat girt with a robe; but, as far as he could exert his voice, he cried, 'That with these solemnities the 'year began, and such were the victims slain to 'Sejanus.' Which ever way he cast his eyes, whither soever he directed his words, nought appeared but the effects of universal terror, even flight and solitude. All along, as he passed, the people disappeared, the streets were empty, the public places deserted. There were some who having fled, returned, and again shewed themselves; dreading this very thing, that they had discovered dread. 'What day, they cried, will 'be free from executions? when even in the midst 'of public assemblies, in the midst of vows and 'sacrifices, a time when custom has established a 'forbearance even from profane words, fetters and 'halters are yet exercised? It is not at random 'that Tiberius has thus done an action so publicly odious; it is a studied artifice. He would 'not be thought to debar the new Magistrates 'from their ancient privilege of opening the pri'sons as well as the temples. Sabinus is there'fore, during the Festival, executed without im'prisonment.' There followed his Letter of thanks to the Senate, 'for having punished an enemy to 'the Commonwealth.' He added, 'that he 'lived a life of fear and sollicitude, in constant ap'prehensions of the snares of his enemies,' but named none. It was, however, no wise doubted that Agrippina and Nero were designed.

Were it not my purpose to refer the several incidents to their proper year, my spirit longs to postpone the immediate events, and instantly to relate

relate the juſt doom of Latiaris, Opſius, and the other contrivers of this perfidious wickedneſs, not only after Caligula came to the Empire, but even while Tiberius yet reigned, who, though he would not ſuffer the miniſters of his cruelties to be cruſhed by others, yet, as he generally became ſurfeited with their infamy, and as freſh ones daily offered for the ſame vile ſervices, was himſelf wont to hew down the old and over odious. But, we ſhall in its order remember the ſevere fate of theſe and other ſons of blood. Now Aſinius Gallus, to whoſe children Agrippina was aunt, moved 'that 'the Prince ſhould be deſired to explain his fears, 'and ſuffer the Senate to remove the cauſes.' Tiberius was fonder of his diſſimulation than of all his other virtues; for ſuch he conceived it. He therefore took it the more heinouſly to find thus laid open what he anxiouſly ſmothered. But Sejanus mollified him; not from any love to Gallus, but to wait the lingering gradations of the Prince's vengeance; for, he knew him ſlow in ripening his wrath, but that after the firſt eruption, he would be ſure to link tragical executions to ſad denunciations. About the ſame time died Julia, granddaughter to Auguſtus, by him condemned for adultery, and baniſhed to the iſland Trimetus, not far from the coaſt of Apulia. She there ſuffered exile twenty years, ſuſtained by relief from Auguſta, who having by dark devices diſpatched, in the midſt of their hopes and glory, the brothers of Julia, made a public ſhew of compaſſion towards others of the family, when under the preſſures of adverſity.

The ſame year the Friſians, a people beyond the Rhine, rebelled, rather enraged by our avarice, than impatient of allegiance. The tribute laid on them by Druſus, was eaſy, and ſuited to their poor

poor ſubſtance; namely, 'to furniſh certain hides 'for the uſes of the ſoldiers.' Nor did any one think or inſiſt on the particular ſize or thickneſs, till Olennius, an officer ſent to govern them, having procured the large hides of ſome wild bulls, demanded that according to that meaſure the tribute ſhould be paid; a hard taſk even upon any nation, and to the Germans the more intolerable, as their foreſts abound in beaſts of mighty bulk, and their domeſtic cattle are very ſmall. Yet they bore a ſeries of oppreſſions, firſt parted with the herds themſelves, next reſigned their lands, laſt of all ſurrendered their wives and children to bondage. Hence much bitterneſs and anguiſh, and ſad complaints. But as theſe brought no relaxation, grown at laſt deſperate, they ſought relief from war. At once they ruſhed upon the ſoldiers appointed over the tribute, and hanged them on gibbets. Olennius by flight prevented their vengeance, and found ſanctuary in a neighbouring caſtle, its name Flevum, ſituated on the ſea coaſt, and garriſoned by a ſtout band of ſoldiers, Romans and Auxiliaries.

Lucius Apronius, Governor of the lower Germany, as ſoon as he was apprized of the inſurrection, called down, from the upper province, ſome companies of the Legions, with the choice auxiliary foot and horſe; and, carrying his army down the Rhine, made a deſcent on the Friſians; the revolters having now abandoned the ſiege of the caſtle, and marched back to cover their own country. He therefore, by bridges and cauſeways laid over the neighbouring fenns, rendered them paſſable to the body of his forces; and in the mean while, having diſcovered certain fordable places, he commanded the cavalry of the Caninefates and all the German foot in our pay, to ſurround the rear of the enemy, who,

who, being already drawn up in battle, repulſed the ſocial troops, and even ſome legionary horſe, ſent to ſupport them. So that a freſh aid was ordered of three Cohorts, then two more, and, after ſome ſpace, the whole cavalry of the Legions; forces ſufficient, had they fallen on in a body; but as they advanced by intervals, they not only inſpired no freſh courage into thoſe who were already diſordered, but were themſelves carried away by the fright of ſuch as fled. To Cethegus Labeo, therefore, Legate of the fifth Legion, he committed all the reſt of the auxiliary troops. But he too, being hardly beſet, and his men in danger of giving way, diſpatched meſſages to implore the intire force of the Legions. Thoſe of the fifth ran before the reſt to his relief, and, in a ſharp encounter, repulſing the foe, protected our Cohorts and Cavalry, much enfeebled with wounds. The Roman General neither purſued his vengeance, nor even buried the dead, though many Tribunes, many horſe officers, and many Centurions of the firſt rank, were ſlain. It was afterwards learnt from deſerters, that nine hundred Romans, having the whole night long defended themſelves in the wood called Baduhenna, were every man cut off; and that another band of four hundred, having poſſeſſed themſelves of a ſeat of one Cruptorix, once our tributary, and coming to fear being delivered into the hands of the enemy, had fallen by the hands of one another.

Hence the name of the Friſians became renowned amongſt the Germans, whilſt Tiberius diſſembled the public loſs, that he might truſt no man with the conduct of the war. For the Senate, it was no part of their anxiety, what diſgraces were received on the extremities of the Empire: domeſtic terror had poſſeſſed their ſouls, a diſtemper for which

they

they ſought a cure from flattery; inſomuch, that though they met upon far different deliberations, yet they decreed ‘ an Altar to Clemency, an Altar ‘ to Friendſhip, and round them the Statues of ‘ Tiberius and Sejanus;’ and, with repeated ſupplications importuned both, ‘ that they would ‘ pleaſe to afford their preſence to the public.’ But, with all theſe entreaties, they neither viſited Rome, nor the neighbourhood of Rome. To them it ſeemed condeſcenſion ſufficient, juſt to leave the iſland, and ſuffer themſelves to be ſeen on the ſhore of Campania. Thither crowded the Senators, the Knights, and great part of the people, all ſolicitous for admiſſion to Sejanus, who was harder of acceſs than the Emperor; nor was it at all to be obtained but by being confederate with him in his counſels and purſuits, or by courting thoſe that were. It was abundantly apparent that his natural arrogance was exalted, from ſurveying that filthy hoſt of ſlaves, ſpread all abroad, and crouching before him. For at Rome the throng of ſycophants were not ſo diſtinctly perceived; the greatneſs of the City, the ordinary hurry of men, and variety of affairs, rendered it uncertain whither they went, or whence they came. But here they appeared in a body, the noble and mean, lying, along on the fields and ſhores, days and nights, no diſtinction of ranks, the buſineſs of all the ſame, and bore with equal patience the favour and inſults of his porters, till they were finally forbid to apply even to theſe. So that all, whom he condeſcended not to ſee, others whom he deigned not to ſpeak to, returned to the City ſtruck and trembling, ſome exulting with deceitful joy, as over them hung the dreadful iſſue of his tragical friendſhip.

For the reſt; Tiberius having here betrothed to Cneius Domitius the younger Agrippina,

his grand-daughter by Germanicus, ordered the nuptials to be celebrated at Rome. In Domitius he preferred, beſides the antiquity of his family, his near kindred to the Cæſars; for Octavia being his grand-mother, Auguſtus was his great uncle.

THE

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK V.

The SUMMARY.

The death and character of the Empreſs Livia. *Thence freſh power to* Sejanus, *and tyranny of the Government.* Agrippina *and her ſon* Nero *openly accuſed to the Senate by a letter from the Emperor. The ardent zeal of the people for them. This incenſes* Sejanus, *who thence alarms* Tiberius. *Part of a Speech of one condemned, with his manner of dying. More accuſations. A counterfeit* Druſus *in the Cyclades. The diligence and addreſs of* Poppæius Sabinus *upon that occaſion. Heats between the two Conſuls.*

IN the Conſulſhip of Rubellius and Fuſius, each ſirnamed Geminus, died Julia Auguſta, in the extremity of age. She was deſcended from the Claudian houſe, adopted through her father into the Livian family, into the Julian by Auguſtus; and

and both by adoption and deſcent, ſignally noble. Her firſt marriage was with Tiberius Nero, and by him ſhe had children. Her huſband, after the ſurrender of Peruſia, in the Civil War, became a fugitive; but, upon peace made between Sextus Pompeius and the Triumvirate, returned to Rome. Afterwards, Octavius Cæſar, ſmitten with her beauty, ſnatched her from her huſband, whether with or againſt her own inclinations, is uncertain, but with ſuch precipitation, that, without ſtaying for her delivery, he married her yet big with child by Tiberius. Henceforward ſhe had no iſſue; but, by the marriage of Germanicus and Agrippina, her blood came to be mixed with that of Auguſtus in their great grand-children. In her domeſtic deportment ſhe conformed to the venerable model of antiquity, but with more complaiſance than was allowed by the Ladies of old; an eaſy courteous wife, an ambitious mother, well comporting with the nice arts of her huſband, and the diſſimulation of her ſon. Her funeral was moderate, and her laſt will lay long unfulfilled. Her encomium was pronounced in public by Caligula, her grandſon, afterwards Emperor.

Tiberius by a Letter excuſed himſelf to the Senate for not having paid his laſt offices to his Mother; and, though he rioted in private luxury without abatement, pleaded 'the multitude of 'public affairs.' He likewiſe abridged the honours decreed to her memory, and, of a large number, admitted but very few. For this reſtriction he pretended modeſty, and added, 'that no 'religious worſhip ſhould be appointed to her, for 'that the contrary was her own choice.' Nay, in a part of the ſame Letter, he cenſured *feminine friendſhips*, obliquely upbraiding the Conſul Fuſius, a man highly diſtinguiſhed by the favour of Auguſta, and dexterous to engage and cajole the affections

affections of women, a gay talker, one accuſtomed to play upon Tiberius with biting ſarcaſms, the impreſſions of which never die in the hearts of Princes.

From this moment, the domination waxed completely outrageous and devouring; for while ſhe lived, ſome refuge ſtill remained, as the obſervance of Tiberius towards his Mother was ever inviolate; nor durſt Sejanus arrogate precedence of the authority of a parent; but now, as let looſe from all reſtraints, they broke out with unbridled fury. So that Letters were diſpatched avowedly againſt Agrippina and Nero; and as they were read in the Senate ſoon after the death of Auguſta, the people believed them to have been ſent before, and by her ſuppreſſed. The expreſſions were elaborately bitter; and yet by them no hoſtile purpoſe of taking arms, no endeavour to change the State, was objected to the youth, but only 'the love of 'boys, and other impure pleaſures.' Againſt Agrippina he durſt not even feign ſo much, and therefore arraigned 'her haughty looks, her im-'petuous and ſtubborn ſpirit.' The Senate were ſtruck with deep ſilence and affright; but as particular men will always be drawing perſonal favour from public miſeries, there were ſome who, having no hopes founded upon uprightneſs, demanded that 'they ſhould proceed upon the Letters.' Amongſt theſe the foremoſt in zeal was Cotta Meſſalinus, with a terrible motion; but, the other leading men, and chiefly the Magiſtrates, were embaraſſed by fear; for Tiberius, though he had ſent them a flaming invective, left all the reſt a riddle.

In the Senate was one Junius Ruſticus, appointed by the Emperor to keep a Journal of their proceedings, and therefore thought well acquainted with his purpoſes. This man, by ſome fatal im-

pulſe (for he had never before ſhewn any inſtance of magnanimity) or blinded by deceitful policy, while forgetful of preſent and impending dangers, he dreaded future poſſibilities, joined the party that heſitated, and even warned the Conſuls, ‘ not to ‘ begin the debate :’ he argued, ‘ that in a ſhort ‘ moment the higheſt affairs might take a new ‘ turn, and an interval ought to be allowed to the ‘ old man to change his paſſion into remorſe.’ At the ſame time, the people, carrying with them the Images of Agrippina and Nero, gathered about the Senate, and proclaiming their good wiſhes for the proſperity of the Emperor, cried earneſtly, ‘ that ‘ the Letters were counterfeit, and againſt the ‘ conſent of the Prince the doom of his family was ‘ purſued.’ So that nothing tragical was that day tranſacted. There were alſo diſperſed amongſt them ſeveral ſpeeches, ſaid to have been uttered in Senate by the Conſulars, as their motions and advices againſt Sejanus; but all framed, and with the more petulance as the ſeveral authors exerciſed their ſatirical wit in the dark. Hence Sejanus boiled with greater rage, and hence had a handle for branding the Senate, ‘ that by them the an- ‘ guiſh and reſentments of the Prince were deſ- ‘ piſed, the people were revolted; popular and ‘ diſaffected harangues were publicly read and ‘ liſtened to; new and arbitrary acts of Senate ‘ were paſſed and publiſhed. What more remain- ‘ ed, but to arm the populace, and place at their ‘ head, as leaders and Imperial Commanders, ‘ thoſe whoſe Images they had already choſen for ‘ ſtandards ?’

Tiberius having therefore repeated his reproaches againſt his grand-ſon and daughter-in-law, having chaſtiſed the people by an edict, and complained to the Senate, ‘ that by the fraud of a ſin- ‘ gle Senator the Imperial dignity ſhould be baffled

‘ and

'and inſulted, required that the whole affair ſhould 'be left to himſelf, intire and untouched.' The Senate heſitated no longer, but inſtantly proceeded, not now in truth to decree penalties, and capital vengeance; for that was forbid them; but to teſtify 'how ready they were to inflict juſt puniſhments, 'and that they were only interrupted by the power 'and pleaſure of the Prince.'*******

[*Here begins a lamentable chaſm in this Annal for almoſt three years; and by it we have loſt the detail of the moſt remarkable incidents in this reign, the exile of* Agrippina *into the iſle of Pandataria; of* Nero *into that of Pontia; and the murder of both there, by the orders of* Tiberius; *the conſpiracy and execution of* Sejanus, *with that of all his friends and dependents; the further wickedneſs of* Livia, *and her death.*]

*** Upon this ſubject four and forty ſpeeches were made, ſome few upright, but cramped by fear; many ſuited to the ſervile genius of the time *******. 'I judged that either upon myſelf it 'would bring infamy, or upon Sejanus hatred *** 'his fortune has now ſuffered a mighty turn; and 'he who even choſe him for his ſon-in-law, choſe 'him for his collegue, forgives himſelf. For 'others, as they flattered his living pride with the 'vileneſs and proſtitution of ſlaves, they now pur-'ſue him dead, with the fury of baſe enemies *** 'Which is the more wretched fate, I can hardly 'decide, that of accuſing a friend, or of being 'accuſed for ſhewing him friendſhip. *** I ſhall 'riſque no man's cruelty, I ſhall court no man's 'mercy, but, free as I am, and approved to my 'own conſcience, will maſter danger by prevent-'ing it. As to all you preſent; I adjure you that 'you do not preſerve my memory in ſorrow, but

'rejoice over it, and add me too to the number of 'thoſe who by a noble end have eſcaped the ſad 'view of public miſeries.'

He then ſpent part of the day in converſation with thoſe that came to ſee him, received one, took leave of another, talked to all indifferently, as they ſtood about him, with perfect calmneſs and preſence of ſpirit. A throng of company yet remained, and, while they all beheld his countenance ſtill eaſy and void of perturbation, and thence believed that he meant to live ſome longer ſpace, he fell upon a ſword which under his robe he had concealed. Nor did Tiberius, after his death, perſecute his memory with any reproach, or blacken him with any crime; whereas he had loaded Blæſus with many and hideous imputations.

Next were tried Publius Vitellius, and Pomponius Secundus. The former was charged by the informers, 'that as he preſided over the exche-'quer, he had offered the public treaſure, and the 'whole military cheſt, towards compaſſing a re-'volution.' To the other, his accuſer Conſidius, lately Prætor, objected 'the friendſhip of Ælius 'Gallus, who, after the execution of Sejanus, 'had fled to the gardens of Pomponius, as to a 'moſt faithful ſhelter.' Againſt the impending peril there remained to neither of the accuſed any aid but from the magnanimity of their brothers, who frankly became their ſureties. However, in ſome time, Vitellius, after many delays, alike diſtracted with the ſlipperineſs of hope, and the agonies of fear, called for a pen-knife, under pretence of writing, and with it pricked his veins, but timorouſly and without effect; ſo that at laſt he died broken-hearted. Pomponius, a man of great elegance of manners, and noble wit, bore with equanimity his adverſe fortune, and out-lived Tiberius.

Now,

Now, though the rage of the populace was expiring, and though moſt men were mollified by former executions, it was determined to condemn the other children of Sejanus. They were therefore carried both to priſon, the boy ſenſible of his impending doom, but the girl ſo ignorant, that ſhe frequently aſked, 'for what offence? and whi-'ther did they drag her? ſhe would do ſo no 'more, and they might take the rod and whip 'her.' The Writers of that time relate, 'that 'as it was a thing unheard, for a virgin to ſuffer 'capital puniſhment, ſhe was deflowered by the 'executioner juſt before he tied the rope; and 'that being both ſtrangled, the tender bodies of 'theſe children were caſt into the place where the 'carcaſſes of malefactors are expoſed, before they 'are flung into the Tiber.'******

About the ſame time Greece and Aſia were diſmayed, by a rumour rather vehement than laſting, 'that Druſus the ſon of Germanicus had been ſeen 'in the Cyclades, and anon upon the Continent.' It was indeed a youth near of the ſame age, accompanied by ſome of the Emperor's freedmen, who, while they owned him for Druſus, meant to enſnare him. His followers were multiplied by the ſplendor of the name, a lure which excited ſuch as were ignorant about him; as the Greeks are ever paſſionate for all things new and wonderful.

They therefore imagined, and believing their own imaginations, they at the ſame time publiſhed, 'that he had eſcaped from cuſtody, and was pro-'ceeding to the armies of his father, with them 'to ſubdue Syria or Ægypt.' Already he was ſtrengthened by the confluence of the young men, already courted with public honours, and elated in himſelf with the preſent ſucceſs, and foſtering airy hopes, when the ſtory reached Poppæus Sabinus.

He was at that juncture engaged in Macedon, though likewiſe Governor of Greece. To obviate therefore the conſequences of the rumour, true or falſe, he haſtily paſſed the bay of Toronis, and that of Thermes, next Eubœa, an iſland of the Ægean Sea, and Piræum the port of Athens, then the coaſt of Corinth, and the Streights of the Iſthmus; and, by another ſea, he entered Nicopolis a Roman colony. There at laſt he learnt, that this counterfeit Druſus, being artfully queſtioned, had declared himſelf the ſon of Marcus Silanus; and that many of his followers having fallen off, he had embarked, as if he meant to ſail to Italy. Sabinus ſent this account to Tiberius, and further than this we have found nothing of the origin or iſſue of that affair.

Towards the concluſion of the year, the animoſity of the Conſuls, which had been long heightening, broke out into a flame; for Trio, ever forward to create himſelf enemies, and an exerciſed pleader, had obliquely cenſured Regulus, 'as 'ſlothful in cruſhing the inſtruments of Sejanus.' Regulus, a man moderate and inoffenſive, unleſs provoked, not only repulſed the charge of his colleague, but arraigned him as confederate with that traitor, and even ſummoned him to his trial. Many Senators interpoſed, and beſought them, that each would drop his hate, tending to the overthrow of both; but they perſiſted threatening and incenſed to the expiration of their Magiſtracy.

THE

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK VI.

The SUMMARY.

The ſtrange and libidinous revellings of the ancient Emperor in his ſolitary retreat at Capreæ. Many accuſations; that of Marcus Terentius, *and his ſingular defence.* L. Piſo, *his death and fine character. The office of Governor of Rome, how it began, and by whom exerciſed. Debate concerning the Sybilline books, and the reſtrictions to be obſerved in admitting them. A ſedition at Rome upon a dearth of bread-corn. Two daughters of* Germanicus *married, one to* L. Caſſius, *another to* Marcus Vinicius. *Regulations againſt uſury. Freſh accuſations upon the law of Majeſty. Numbers executed at once as confederates with* Sejanus, *and their coarſes expoſed.* Caligula *married to* Claudia; *his character and diſſimulation.* Tiberius *preſages the ſovereignty of* Galba. *His dealings with the aſtrologers: A remarkable ſtory of*

Thraſullus. *The miſerable and violent end of* Druſus *the ſon of* Germanicus, *as alſo of* Agrippina. *The character and voluntary death of* Nerva *the great lawyer, with the end of other illuſtrious men. A Phœnix ſeen in Ægypt, with traditions concerning that miraculous bird. Freſh accuſations and deaths. Deputies from Parthia for a King.* Tiberius *eſtabliſhes a King there, then another.* Lucius Vitellius *ſent to ſettle the Eaſt; his various character. Wars between the Parthians and Armenians.* Artabanus *expulſed from his kingdom, ſeeks refuge in Scythia.* Tiridates *ſettled in his room by the conduct and army of* Vitellius. *More illuſtrious Romans accuſed, with their condemnation and ends. The Clitæans, a people of Cappadocia, their revolt and defeat.* Tiridates *dethroned, and* Artabanus *recalled. A terrible conflagration at Rome: The liberality of* Tiberius *at that conjuncture. He deliberates with himſelf about a ſucceſſor. His ſickneſs, death and character.*

CNeius Domitius and Camillus Scribonianus had begun their Conſulſhip, when the Emperor, having croſſed the channel between Capreæ and Surrentum, ſailed along the ſhore of Campania, unreſolved whether he ſhould proceed to Rome, or counterfeiting a ſhew of coming, becauſe he had determined not to come. He often approached to the neighbourhood of the City, even viſited the Gardens upon the Tiber; but at laſt reſumed his old retirement, the gloomy rocks and ſolitude of the ſea, aſhamed of his cruelties, and abominable luſts, in which he rioted ſo outrageouſly, that, after the faſhion of Royal Tyrants, the children of ingenuous parentage became the objects of his pollution; nor in them was he ſtruck with a lovely face only, or the graces of their perſons; but in ſome their boyiſh and bluſhing innocence,

in

in others their nobility and the glory of their anceſtors, became the provocatives of his unnatural paſſion. Then likewiſe were deviſed the filthy names, till then unknown, of the *Sellarii* and *Spintriæ*, expreſſing the odious lewdneſs of the place, and the manifold methods of proſtitution practiſed in it. He moreover entertained profeſſed procurers, to look out and carry off the willing by the allurements of preſents, the backward by terror and threats; and when their parents or kindred withheld their children, they had recourſe to force, ſeiſure, treated them like captives, and with all licentious rage.

At Rome, in the beginning of the year, as if the iniquities of Livia had been but juſt diſcovered, and not even long ſince puniſhed, furious orders were paſſed even againſt her Statues and memory, as alſo, 'That the effects of Sejanus ſhould be 'taken from the public treaſury, and placed in 'that of the Emperor:' as if ſuch tranſlation availed the ſtate. Yet ſuch was the motion of the Scipios, the Silani, and the Caſſii, who urged it, each almoſt in the ſame words, but all with mighty zeal and earneſtneſs; when, on a ſudden, Togonius Gallus, while he would be thruſting his own meanneſs amongſt names ſo greatly illuſtrious, became the object of deriſion; for he beſought the Prince 'to chuſe a body of Senators, of whom 'twenty, drawn by lot and under arms, ſhould 'wait upon him, and defend his perſon, as often 'as he entered the Senate.' He had weakly credited a Letter from the Emperor, requiring 'the 'guard and protection of one of the Conſuls, that 'he might return in ſafety from Capreæ to Rome." Tiberius, however, returned thanks to the Senate for ſuch an inſtance of affection; but, as he was wont to mix pleaſantry with things ſerious, he aſked, 'How was it to be executed? What Se-

'nators were to be choſen? Who to be admitted?
'Whether always the ſame, or a continued ſuc-
'ceſſion? Whether young Senators, or ſuch as
'had borne dignities? Whether thoſe who were
'Magiſtrates, or thoſe exerciſing no Magiſtracy?
'Moreover, what a becoming figure they would
'make, grave Senators, men of the gown, under
'arms at the entrance of the Senate! In truth,
'he held not his life of ſuch importance, to have
'it thus protected by arms.' So much in anſwer to Togonius, without aſperity of words; nor did he, farther than this, preſs them to cancel the motion.

But Junius Gallio eſcaped not thus. He had propoſed, 'That the Prætorian ſoldiers, having
'accompliſhed their term of ſervice, ſhould thence
'acquire the privilege of ſitting in the fourteen
'rows of the Theatre allotted to the Roman
'Knights.' Upon him Tiberius fell with violent wrath, and, as if preſent, demanded, 'What bu-
'ſineſs had he with the ſoldiers? men whoſe duty
'bound them to obſerve only the orders of the
'Emperor, and from the Emperor alone to re-
'ceive their rewards. Gallio had, forſooth, diſ-
'covered a recompence which had eſcaped the ſa-
'gacity of the deified Auguſtus! Or, was it not
'rather a project ſtarted by a mercenary of Seja-
'nus, to raiſe ſedition and diſcord, to debauch
'the rude minds of the ſoldiers with the ſhew and
'bait of new honour, to corrupt their diſcipline,
'and ſet them looſe from military reſtrictions?' This reward had the ſtudied flattery of Gallio, who was inſtantly expelled the Senate, and then Italy: Nay, it became a charge upon him, that his exile would be too eaſy, having for the place of it choſen Lesbos, an Iſland noble and delightful; he was therefore haled back to Rome, and confined in the houſe of a Magiſtrate. Tiberius, in the ſame

Letter,

Letter, demanded the doom of Sextus Paconianus, formerly Prætor, to the extreme joy of the Senate, as he was a man bold and miſchievous, one armed with ſnares, and continually diving into the purpoſes and ſecret tranſactions of all men, and one choſen by Sejanus, for plotting the overthrow of Caligula. When this was now laid open, the general hate and animoſities long ſince conceived againſt him, broke violently out, and had he not offered to make a diſcovery, he had been inſtantly condemned to death.

As the perſon he arraigned, proved to be Latinius Latiaris, the accuſer and the accuſed, two men equally deteſted, adminiſtered a moſt grateful ſcene. Latiaris, as I have recounted, had been the chief in betraying Titius Sabinus, and was now the firſt that ſuffered. During theſe tranſactions, Haterius Agrippa encountered the Conſuls of the preceding year; 'How came they to be 'ſilent now, they who had impeached each other 'of treaſon then? In truth, common dread, and 'conſciences equally guilty, ought to be reckoned 'the bonds and articles of their preſent ceſſation. 'But the fathers muſt not paſs unobſerved what 'from themſelves they had heard.' It was anſwered by Regulus, 'That there ſtill remained 'time to procure puniſhment, and he would do it 'effectually when the Prince ſhould be preſent.' Trio pleaded 'the uſual emulation between col'leagues, and that what they two had uttered in 'the heat of diſſention, were better blotted out of 'remembrance.' Agrippa ſtill perſiſting, Sanquinius Maximus, one of the Conſulars, beſought the Senate, 'That they would not thus heighten 'the anxieties of the Emperor, by wantonly hunting after matter of freſh aſperity; and that, 'where remedies were wanting, he alone was 'abundantly ſufficient to apply them.' Thus was

ſafety procured to Regulus, and to Trio a delay of his doom. For Haterius; he became the more deteſted, ſince, emaciated with debauches and lubricity, and protected by his voluptuous ſloth againſt all peril from the Prince's cruelty, he meditated, in the midſt of cups and harlots, the deſtruction of illuſtrious men.

The next impeached was Cotta Meſſalinus, the author of every the moſt bloody counſel, and thence long and intenſely hated. The firſt opportunity was therefore ſnatched to fall upon him with a combination of crimes, as that he had called Caius Caligula by the feminine name of *Caia Caligula*, and branded him with conſtuprations of both kinds; that when he celebrated among the prieſts the birthday of Auguſta, he had ſtiled the entertainment a *funeral ſupper*; and that complaining of the great ſway of Marcus Lepidus, and of Lucius Arruntius, with whom he had a ſuit about money, he had added, 'They, indeed, will be ſupported by 'the Senate, but I by my little Tiberius.' Of all this he ſtood expoſed to conviction by men of the firſt rank in Rome, who being earneſt to attack him, he appealed to Cæſar, from whom ſoon after a Letter was brought in behalf of Cotta; in it he recounted 'the beginning of their friendſhip,' repeated 'his many good ſervices to himſelf,' and deſired 'that words perverſly conſtrued, and 'morous tales told at an entertainment, might 'not be wreſted into crimes.'

Moſt remarkable was the beginning of that Letter; for in theſe words he introduced it; 'What 'to write you, Conſcript Fathers, or in what 'manner to write, or what at all not to write at 'this inſtant, if I can determine, may all the Dei-'ties, Gods and Goddeſſes, doom me ſtill to more 'cruel agonies than thoſe under which I feel my-'ſelf periſhing daily.' So cloſely did the bloody hor-

horror of his cruelties and infamy haunt this man of blood, and became his torturers! Nor was it at random what the wiſeſt of all men was wont to affirm, that if the hearts of Tyrants were diſplayed, they would be ſeen full of deadly wounds and gorings, ſince what the ſeverity of ſtripes is to the body, the ſame to the ſoul is the bitter anguiſh of cruelty, luſt, and execrable purſuits. To Tiberius not his Imperial fortune, not his gloomy and inacceſſible ſolitudes, could enſure tranquillity, nor exempt him from feeling, and even avowing, the rack in his breaſt, and the avenging furies that purſued him.

After this it was left to the diſcretion of the Senate to proceed as they liſted againſt Cæcilianus the Senator, 'who had produced againſt Cotta a 'charge of many heavy articles;' and it was reſolved, 'to ſubject him to the ſame penalties in-'flicted upon Aruſeius and Sanquinius, the accu-'ſers of Lucius Arruntius.' A more ſignal inſtance of honour than this had never befallen Cotta, who, noble in truth, but through luxury indigent, and, for the baſeneſs of his crimes, deteſtable, was, by the dignity of this amends, equalled in character to the moſt venerable reputation and virtues of Arruntius. Thereafter were arraigned Quintus Servæus, and Minutius Thermus; Servæus formerly Prætor, and once the follower of Germanicus; Minutius, of the Equeſtrian rank, and though diſtinguiſhed, yet never elated, with the friendſhip of Sejanus: hence the greater commiſeration upon both. Tiberius, on the contrary, charged them 'as the leaders and principals in 'treaſon,' and directed Caius Ceſtius the elder 'to declare to the Senate what he had written to 'him.' Thus Seſtius undertook the accuſation. This was the moſt peſtilent calamity of thoſe times, when the illuſtrious chiefs of the Senate degraded themſelves to the vile office of the meaneſt informers,

formers, ſome in the face of the ſun, many in the treacherous ways of ſecrecy, and both without regard to the ties of blood or friendſhip; no diſtinction of kinſmen from ſtrangers, none of the familiar from the unacquainted; no means left to diſcover, whether for recent imputations, or for facts covered in a courſe of years with oblivion. For words ſpoken in the Forum, ſpoken at entertainments, upon what ſubject ſoever ſpoken, the ſpeakers were accuſed; every one ſtriving to get the ſtart of another, and to arraign his man; ſome for their own protection, but moſt, as it were, ſmitten with the diſeaſe of informing, and captivated with a common contagion. Minutius and Servæus were condemned, but to ſave themſelves became evidence; and thus there were drawn into the ſame miſhap Julius Africanus, and Seius Quadratus, the former from Saintes a City of Gaul; from whence was the other I have not diſcovered. Neither am I unaware that by moſt Writers the doom and ſufferings of many of the accuſed, are wholly omitted; either that they were weary of the exceſſive multiplicity, or apprehenſive that the tedious recital, which to themſelves proved ſurfeiting and melancholy, would with equal irkſomneſs affect their readers. But to me, many peculiar paſſages have occurred deſerving to be known, however not publiſhed by others.

For, at a juncture when all men elſe affected to renounce the character of friends to Sejanus, a Roman Knight, his name Marcus Terentius, and then upon his trial on this very account, dared to avow it before the Senate in a ſpeech on this wiſe: ‘In my preſent circumſtances, to deny the charge ‘were, perhaps, more expedient than to acknow-‘ledge it; but, whatever be the reſult, I will ‘own, that I was the friend of Sejanus, that I ‘even ſought to be his friend, and gloried when I

‘had

'had gained his friendſhip. I ſaw him collegue
'with his father Strabo in the command of the
'Prætorian Cohorts, and next governing the ſtate
'and the ſoldiery at once as a Miniſter and a Ge-
'neral. His kinſmen and friends were covered
'with public honours, and prevalent with the
'Prince was every man's credit in proportion to
'his intimacy with Sejanus. Thoſe, on the con-
'trary, under his diſpleaſure, were the deſpairing
'objects of perſecution and wretchedneſs. Names
'and inſtances I bring none; but with myſelf I
'will vindicate, and at my own ſingle peril, all
'thoſe friends of his, who, like myſelf, were
'guiltleſs of his laſt deſigns. Sejanus the Vul-
'ſinian was not the man whom we courted; no;
'for the object of our adorations we choſe Sejanus
'a part of the Claudian, a part of the Julian
'houſe, into which, by alliance, he was ingraft-
'ed; Sejanus thy ſon-in-law, O Cæſar, thy col-
'legue in the Conſulſhip, and that Sejanus who,
'under thee, adminiſtred the Empire. To us it
'belongs not to judge who is he whom above all
'others thou doſt exalt, nor for what cauſes thou
'haſt exalted him. Upon thee the Gods have de-
'volved the ſupreme diſpoſal of things, and to us
'remains the glory of obedience. Facts and
'things obvious we all behold; we perceive who
'it is upon whom thou doſt accumulate wealth
'and honours, who they are that hold and diſtri-
'bute the ſupreme terrors and bleſſings of power;
'and that all theſe were the characteriſtics of Se-
'janus, no man will deny. But to pry into the
'profound thoughts of the Prince, and the coun-
'ſels which he induſtriouſly hides, is forbidden and
'hazardous, nor even with hazard can it be ef-
'fected. Recal not to mind, Conſcript Fathers,
'the laſt day of Sejanus; remember him for the
'ſpace of ſixteen years, a time when we adored

'even

'even ſuch of his retainers as Satrius and Pompo-
'nius; and to be then acquainted with his porters
'and franchized ſlaves, was eſteemed a grand ho-
'nour. What therefore is the reſult? Is this de-
'fence univerſal, and does it ſerve indifferently all
'the friends of Sejanus? Far from it; let juſt li-
'mits bound it. Let the conſpiracy againſt the
'State, let the bloody deſigns upon the Prince,
'be puniſhed. As to the offices of friendſhip, as
'to the inſtances of benevolence towards Sejanus,
'the ſame meaſure of juſtice will acquit thee,
'Cæſar, and us.'

The magnanimity of the ſpeech, added to the joy, that one was at laſt found, who reaſoned aloud as in their hearts they did all, produced ſuch powerful effect, that his accuſers were for this, and other delinquencies, ſentenced to baniſhment or death. Thereafter followed Letters from Tiberius againſt Sextus Veſtilius, formerly Prætor; one whom he had long ſince, as a man exceeding dear to his brother Druſus, adopted into the claſs of his friends. The diſpleaſure conceived againſt him aroſe from his either having compoſed an invective againſt the impurities of Caligula, or from his having been calumniated to have done it, which being believed, he was forbid the Prince's table, and thence purpoſed to die. Having with an aged hand tried the ſteel, and feebly pierced his veins, he bound them up, and, by a Memorial, beſought Tiberius; but receiving a mercileſs anſwer, opened them again for ever. Next were charged with treaſon, all in a band, Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, Mamercus Scaurus, Calviſius Sabinus, and Vinicianus added to his father Pollio; a band of illuſtrious men, all noble in deſcent, ſome diſtinguiſhed with the firſt dignities. Horror ſeized the Fathers; for what Senator was exempt from friendſhip or alliance with ſo many men of

ſuch

ſuch ſignal quality? But one of the evidence, his name Celſus, Tribune of a City-Cohort, acquitted Appius and Calviſius. The trial of Pollio, Vinicianus, and Scaurus, was, by the Emperor poſtponed, till he could himſelf attend it in Senate. Upon Scaurus, however, he beſtowed ſome tragical and boding notes of vengeance.

Nor could even women eſcape the rage of accuſations. With deſigns to uſurp the government, they could not be charged; their tears are therefore made treaſon, and Vitia, mother to Fuſius Geminus, once Conſul, was ſentenced to execution in her old age, for bewailing the blood of her ſon. Theſe were the proceedings in Senate; nor was the Emperor employed elſewhere in different ſtrains of cruelty. By him Veſcularius Atticus and Julius Marinus, were doomed to death, two of his oldeſt friends, men who had followed him to Rhodes, and never forſook him at Capreæ. Veſcularius was his ſecret inter-agent in the plot againſt Libo; and by the co-operation of Marinus had Sejanus effected the ruin of Curtius Atticus. Hence the more joy followed their fall, to ſee them overtaken by precedents of their own traiterous contriving. About the ſame time died Lucius Piſo, the Pontiff; and, by a felicity, then rare in ſo much ſplendour and elevation, died by the courſe of nature. The author he never himſelf was of any ſervile motion, and ever wiſe in moderating ſuch motions from others where neceſſity enforced his aſſent. That his father had ſuſtained the ſublime office of Cenſor, I have before remembered. He himſelf lived to fourſcore years, and, for his warlike feats in Thrace, had obtained the glory of Triumph. But from hence aroſe his moſt diſtinguiſhed glory, that being created Governor of Rome, a juriſdiction newly inſtituted, and the more

more difficult, as not yet ſettled into public reverence, he tempered it wonderfully, and poſſeſſed it long.

For, of old, to ſupply the abſence of the Kings, and afterwards of the Conſuls, that the City might not remain without a ruler, a temporary Magiſtrate was appointed to adminiſter juſtice, and watch over exigencies; and it is ſaid that by Romulus was deputed Denter Romulius, Numa Marcius by Tullus Hoſtilius, and by Tarquin the Proud Spurius Lucretius. The ſame delegation was made by the Conſuls; and there remains ſtill a ſhadow of the old inſtitution, when, during the Latin Feſtival, one is authorized to diſcharge the Conſular function. Moreover, Auguſtus, during the Civil Wars, committed to Cilnius Mæcenas, of the Equeſtrian Order, the Government of Rome and of all Italy. Afterwards, when ſole maſter of the Empire, and moved by the immenſe multitude of people, and the ſlowneſs of relief from the Laws, he choſe a Conſular to bridle the licentiouſneſs of the ſlaves, and to awe ſuch turbulent citizens as are only quiet from the dread of chaſtiſement. Meſſala Corvinus was the firſt inveſted with this authority, and in a few days diſmiſſed, as a man inſufficient to diſcharge it. It was then filled by Taurus Statilius, who, though very ancient, ſuſtained it with ſignal honour. After him Piſo held it for twenty years, with a credit ſo high and uninterrupted, that he was diſtinguiſhed with a public funeral, by decree of Senate.

A motion was thereafter made in Senate by Quinctilianus, Tribune of the people, concerning a Book of the Sybil, which Caninius Gallus, one of the College of fifteen, had prayed 'might be 'received by a decree amongſt the reſt of that 'Propheteſs.' The Decree paſſed without oppoſition,

ſition, but was followed by Letters from Tiberius. In them, having gently chid the Tribune, ‘ as ‘ young, and therefore unſkilled in the ancient ‘ uſages,’ he upbraided Gallus, ‘ that he, who ‘ was ſo long practiſed in the ſcience of ſacred ce- ‘ remonies, ſhould, without taking the opinion of ‘ his own College, without the uſual reading and ‘ deliberation with the other Prieſts, deal, by ſur- ‘ prize, with a thin Senate, to admit a prophetic ‘ Book of an uncertain author.’ He alſo adver- tiſed them ‘ of the conduct of Auguſtus, who, to ‘ ſuppreſs the multitude of fictitious predictions ‘ every-where publiſhed under the ſolemn name of ‘ the Sybil, had ordained, that within a preciſe ‘ day, they ſhould be carried to the City-Prætor, ‘ and made it unlawful to keep them in private ‘ hands.’ The ſame had likewiſe been decreed by our anceſtors, when, after the burning of the Ca- pitol in the Social War, the Rhymes of the Sybil (whether there were but one, or more) were eve- ry-where ſought, in Samos, Ilium, and Erythræ, through Africa too and Sicily, and all the Roman Colonies, with injunctions to the Prieſts, that, as far as human wit could enable them, they would ſeparate the genuine. Therefore, upon this occa- ſion alſo, the Book was ſubjected to the inſpection of the Quindecemvirate.

Under the ſame Conſuls, the dearth of corn had nigh raiſed a ſedition. The populace for many days urged their wants and demands in the public Theatre, with a licentiouſneſs towards the Empe- ror higher than uſual. He was alarmed with this bold ſpirit, and cenſured the Magiſtrates and Se- nate, ‘ that they had not by the public authority ‘ quelled the people.’ He recounted ‘ the con- ‘ tinued ſupplies of grain which he had cauſed to ‘ be imported, from what provinces, and in how ‘ much greater abundance than thoſe procured by ‘ Auguſtus.’

'Auguſtus.' So that for correcting the populace, a decree paſſed, framed in the ſtrain of ancient ſeverity; nor leſs vigorous was the edict publiſhed by the Conſuls. His own ſilence, which he hoped would be taken by the people as an inſtance of moderation, was by them imputed to his pride.

In the end of the year Geminius, Pompeius, and Celſus, all Roman Knights, were for a conſpiracy ſentenced to the pains of treaſon. Of theſe, Geminius had by prodigal expence, and voluptuous living, gained the friendſhip of Sejanus, but never any participation in his counſels. Julius Celſus the Tribune, as he lay in fetters, ſtretched his chain over his head, and, by vehement ſtraining againſt it, broke his neck. But over Rubrius Fabatus a guard was ſet, as to him it was objected, that, deſpairing of the Roman State, he meant to fly for refuge to the Parthians. He was, in truth, apprehended in the Streights of Sicily, and when by a Centurion haled back to Rome, he aſſigned no ſatisfactory motives for ſo long a voyage. He remained however unhurt, through oblivion rather than mercy.

In the Conſulſhip of Servius Galba aad Lucius Sylla, Tiberius diſpoſed of his grand-daughters. He had long deliberated upon whom to beſtow them; and now the young Ladies were of age, he choſe for their huſbands, Lucius Caſſius and Marcus Vinicius. The laſt was originally from Cagli a Roman colony in Campania, and of an Equeſtrian family; but his father and grand-father had been Conſuls; himſelf of a gentle temper and polite eloquence. Caſſius ſprung from a Plebeian ſtock, but ancient and honourable, was brought up under the ſtrict tuition of his father, and more admired for the eaſineſs than vigour of his ſpirit. To him the Emperor married Druſilla, and to Vinicius Julia, both daughters of Germanicus,

and

and upon this ſubject wrote to the Senate, with a brief commendation of the young men. Then accounting for his abſence by cauſes extremely foreign, he proceeded to conſiderations more weighty, what animoſities and hate upon himſelf he had drawn by his zeal for the Republic; and deſired, 'that Macro, Captain of his Guards, with ſome 'few Tribunes and Centurions, might always ac-'company him into the Senate.' To this purpoſe an ordinance paſſed, copious, and without limitation as to number or condition. Yet ſo far was Tiberius from coming near the public deliberations there, that he never entered the walls of Rome; even in the feint approaches which he made, he choſe chiefly crooked and ſolitary ways, heſitating, guilty, and flying his country.

In the mean while, the whole band of accuſers broke looſe upon thoſe who augmented their wealth by Uſury, in contradiction to a Law of Cæſar the Dictator, 'for aſcertaining the terms of lending 'money, and holding mortgages in Italy;' a Law become long ſince obſolete, through the ſelfiſh paſſions of men, ſacrificing public good to private gain. Uſury was, in truth, an inveterate evil in Rome, and the eternal cauſe of civil diſcord and ſeditions, and therefore reſtrained, even in ancient times, while the public manners were not yet greatly corrupted. For, firſt it was ordained by a Law of the twelve Tables, 'that no man ſhould 'take higher Intereſt than twelve in the hundred;' when before it was exacted at the pleaſure of the rich. Afterwards by a regulation of the Tribunes it was reduced to ſix, and at laſt was quite aboliſhed. By the people too repeated Statutes were made, for obviating all eluſions, which, by whatever frequent expedients repreſſed, were yet thro' wonderful devices ſtill ſpringing up afreſh. Gracchus the Prætor was therefore now appointed to

inquire into the complaints and allegations of the accuſers; but, appalled with the multitude of thoſe threatened by the accuſation, he had recourſe to the Senate. The Fathers alſo were diſmayed, (for of this fault not a ſoul was guiltleſs) and ſought and obtained impunity from the Prince; and a year and ſix months were granted for balancing all accounts between debtors and creditors, agreeably to the direction of the Law.

Hence a great ſcarcity of money; for, beſides that all debts were at once called in, ſo many delinquents were condemned, that by the ſale of their effects, the current coin was ſwallowed up in the public treaſury, or in that of the Emperor. Againſt this ſtagnation, the Senate had provided, 'that two thirds of the debts ſhould by every cre-'ditor be laid out upon lands in Italy.' But the creditors warned in the whole; nor could the debtors without breach of faith divide the payment. So that at firſt, meetings and intreaties were tried; and at laſt it was conteſted before the Prætor. And the project applied as a remedy; namely, that the debtor ſhould ſell, and the creditor buy, had a contrary operation: for the uſurers hoarded up all their treaſure for purchaſing of lands, and the plenty of eſtates to be ſold miſerably ſinking the price, the more men were indebted, the more difficult they found it to ſell. Many were utterly ſtript of their fortunes; and the ruin of their private patrimony drew headlong with it that of their reputation, and all public preferment. The deſtruction was going on, when the Emperor adminiſtred relief, by lending a hundred thouſand great ſeſterces * for three years, without intereſt, provided each borrower pawned to the people double the value in inheritance. Thus was credit

* About two Millions, and five hundred thouſand Crowns.

reſtored, and by degrees private lenders too were found; ſo that the order of Senate injoining the purchaſe of lands, was no longer obſerved; like moſt other reformations, keen in the beginning, and ſlighted at laſt.

Rome was next re-viſited with her former terrors, and Conſidius Proculus ſuddenly queſtioned for treaſon. While he celebrated the birth-day, void of every apprehenſion, he was hurried to the Senate, and underwent, in the ſame inſtant, the ſentence and the pains of death. Sancia too, his ſiſter, was interdicted fire and water, at the accuſation of Quintus Pomponius, a man of turbulent temper, who pretended, 'that he 'followed theſe and the like practices, to ingra-'tiate himſelf with Tiberius, and thence to ob-'viate the fate which threatened his brother Pom-'ponius Secundus.' Pompeia Macrina was alſo ſentenced to exile; ſhe whoſe huſband Argolicus and his father Laco, two of the prime nobility of Greece, had already fallen by the cruelty of Tiberius. Her father, an illuſtrious Roman Knight, and her brother formerly Prætor, when they ſaw their own haſtening doom, ſlew themſelves. The crime imputed to them was, 'that their great 'grand-father, Theophanes of Mytelene, had 'been one of the confidents of Pompey the Great, 'and that to Theophanes, when dead, the flat-'tering Greeks had paid divine honours.'

Theſe were followed by Sextus Marius, the moſt wealthy man of Spain. He was accuſed of inceſt with his daughter, and thrown head-long from the Tarpeian rock; but, as an indiſputable proof that his abundant riches procured his bane, his mines of gold, though forfeited to the public, were by Tiberius appropriated to himſelf. His cruelty, at laſt, being but inflamed by inceſſant executions and blood, all thoſe kept in priſon under

der accuſation of any attachment to Sejanus, were by his command put to the ſlaughter. Expoſed to the ſun lay the ſad monuments of the mighty butchery, thoſe of every ſex and age, the illuſtrious and the mean; their carcaſſes ignominiouſly thrown, apart or on heaps; neither was it permitted to their ſurviving friends or kindred, to approach them, to bewail them, nor even any longer to behold them. But, round the dead, Guards were placed, who watched faces, and marked the ſigns of ſorrow; and, as the bodies putrified, ſaw them dragged to the Tyber, where they floated in the ſtream, or were driven upon the banks, no man daring to burn them, none to touch them. The force of fear had cut off the intercourſes of humanity; and in proportion to the growth of tyranny, every ſymptom of commiſeration was baniſhed.

About the ſame time, Claudia, daughter to Marcus Silanus, was given in marriage to Caligula, who had accompanied his grand-father to Capreæ, having always hid under a ſubdolous guiſe of modeſty, his ſavage and inhuman ſpirit; even upon the condemnation of his mother, even for the exile of his brothers, not a word eſcaped him, not a ſigh, nor groan. He was ſo blindly obſervant of Tiberius, that he ſtudied the bent of his temper, and ſeemed to poſſeſs it, practiſed his looks, imitated the change and faſhion of his dreſs, and affected his words and manner of expreſſion. Hence the obſervation of Paſſienus, the Orator, grew afterwards famous, ‘ that there never lived ‘ a better ſlave, nor a worſe maſter.’ Neither would I omit the preſage of Tiberius concerning Galba, then Conſul. Having ſent for him, and ſifted him upon ſeveral ſubjects, he at laſt told him, in Greek, ‘ and thou, Galba, ſhalt hereafter taſte ‘ of Empire;’ ſignifying his late and ſhort ſovereignty.

reignty. This he uttered from his ſkill in Aſtrology, which at Rhodes he had leiſure to learn, and had Thraſullus for his teacher, whoſe capacity he proved by this following trial.

As often as he conſulted this way concerning any affair, he retired to the roof of the houſe, attended by one freedman truſted with the ſecret. This man, ſtrong of body, but deſtitute of letters, guided along the Aſtrologer, whoſe Art Tiberius meant to try, over ſolitary precipices (for upon a rock the houſe ſtood) and, as he returned, if any ſuſpicion aroſe that his predictions were vain, or that the author deſigned fraud, caſt him head-long into the ſea, to prevent his making diſcoveries. Thraſullus being therefore led over the ſame rocks, and minutely conſulted, his anſwers were full, and ſtruck Tiberius, as approaching Empire and many future revolutions were ſpecifically foretold him. The artiſt was then queſtioned, 'whether he had 'calculated his own nativity, and thence preſaged 'what was to befall him that ſame year, nay, 'that very day?' Thraſullus ſurveying the poſitions of the ſtars, and calculating their aſpects, began at firſt to heſitate, then to quake, and the more he meditated, being more and more diſmayed with wonder and dread, he at laſt cried out, 'that over him juſt then hung a boding danger and 'well-nigh fatal.' Forthwith Tiberius embraced him, congratulated 'him upon his foreſight of pe-'rils, and his ſecurity from them;' and eſteeming his predictions as ſo many oracles, held him thenceforward in the rank of his moſt intimate friends.

For myſelf, while I liſten to theſe and the like relations, my judgment wavers, whether things human are in their courſe and rotation determined by Fate and immutable neceſſity, or left to roll at random. For upon this ſubject the wiſeſt of the ancients and thoſe addicted to their Sects, are of

oppoſite ſentiments. Many are of opinion, ‘ that ‘ to the Gods neither the generation of us men, ‘ nor our death, and, in truth, neither men nor ‘ the actions of men, are of any importance or ‘ concernment; and thence ſuch numberleſs cala- ‘ mities afflict the upright, while pleaſure and ‘ proſperity ſurround the wicked.’ Others hold the contrary poſition, and believe ‘ a Fate to pre- ‘ ſide over events; a Fate however not reſulting ‘ from wandring ſtars, but coeval with the firſt ‘ principles of things, and operating by the conti- ‘ nued connection of natural cauſes. Yet their ‘ Philoſophy leaves our courſe of life in our own ‘ free option; but that, after the choice is made, ‘ the chain of conſequences is inevitable: neither ‘ is that good or evil which paſſes for ſuch in the ‘ eſtimation of the vulgar; many who ſeem ‘ wounded with adverſity are yet happy, numbers ‘ that wallow in wealth, are yet moſt wretched: ‘ ſince the firſt often bear with magnanimity the ‘ blows of fortune, and the latter abuſe her bounty ‘ in baneful purſuits.’ For the reſt, it is common to multitudes of men, ‘ to have each their whole ‘ future fortunes determined from the moment of ‘ their birth; or if ſome events thwart the predic- ‘ tion, it is through the miſtakes of ſuch as pro- ‘ nounce at random, and thence debaſe the credit ‘ of an art, which, both in ages paſt and our own, ‘ hath given ſignal inſtances of its certainty.’ For, to avoid lengthening this digreſſion, I ſhall remem- ber in its order, how by the ſon of this ſame Thra- ſullus the Empire was predicted to Nero.

During the ſame Conſulſhip was divulged the death of Aſinius Gallus: that he periſhed through famine, was undoubted; but whether of his own accord, or by conſtraint, was held uncertain. The pleaſure of the Emperor being conſulted, ‘ whe- ‘ ther he would ſuffer him to be buried,’ he was not

not ashamed to grant such a piece of mock mercy, nor even to blame the anticipations of casualty, which had withdrawn the criminal, before he was publicly convicted; as if during three intermediate years between his accusation and his death, there wanted time for the trial of an ancient Consular, and the father of so many Consulars. Next perished Drusus, condemned by his grand-father to be starved; but by gnawing the weeds upon which he lay, he by that miserable nourishment protracted life the space of nine days. Some Authors relate, that, in case Sejanus had resisted and taken arms, Macro had instructions to draw the young man out of confinement (for he was kept in the palace) and set him at the head of the people. Afterwards, because a report ran, 'that the Empe-'ror was about to be reconciled to his daughter-'in-law and grand-son,' he chose rather to gratify himself by cruelty, than the public by relenting.

Tiberius, not satiated with the death of Drusus, even after death pursued him with cruel invectives, and, in a Letter to the Senate, charged him with 'a body foul with prostitution, with a spirit breath-'ing destruction to his own family, and rage 'against the Republic;' and ordered to be recited 'the Minutes of his words and actions, which had 'been long and daily registered.' A proceeding more black with horror could not be devised! That for so many years there should be those expressly appointed who were to note down his looks, his groans, his secret and extorted murmurs; that his grand-father should delight to hear the treacherous detail, to read it, and to the public expose it, would appear a series of fraud, meanness and amazement, beyond all measure of faith, were it not for the Letters of Actius the Centurion, and Didymus the freedman; who in them declare, particularly, the names of the slaves set purposely to abuse and pro-

voke Druſus, with the ſeveral parts they acted; how one ſtruck him going out of his chamber, and how another filled him with terrors and diſmay. The Centurion too repeated, as matter of glory, his own language to Druſus, full of outrage and barbarity, with the words uttered by him under the agonies of famine; that, at firſt, feigning diſorder of ſpirit, he vented, in the ſtile of a madman, diſmal denunciations againſt Tiberius; but, after all hopes of life had forſaken him, then, in ſteady and deliberate imprecations, he invoked the direful vengeance of the Gods, 'that, as he 'had ſlaughtered his ſon's wife, ſlaughtered the 'ſon of his brother, and his ſon's ſons, and with 'ſlaughters had filled his whole houſe; ſo they 'would, in juſtice to the anceſtors of the ſlain, in 'juſtice to their poſterity, doom him to the dread-'ful penalties of ſo many murders.' The Senators, in truth, upon this, raiſed a mighty dinn, under colour of deteſting theſe imprecations; but it was dread which poſſeſſed them, and amazement, that he who had been once ſo dark in the practice of wickedneſs, and ſo ſubtle in the concealment of his bloody ſpirit, was arrived at ſuch an utter inſenſibility of ſhame, that he could thus remove, as it were, the covert of the walls, and repreſent his own grandſon under the ignominious chaſtiſement of a Centurion, torn by the barbarous ſtripes of ſlaves, and imploring in vain the laſt ſuſtenance of life.

Before the impreſſions of this grief were worne away, the death of Agrippina was publiſhed. I ſuppoſe ſhe had lived thus long upon the hopes which from the execution of Sejanus ſhe had conceived; but, feeling afterwards no relaxation of cruelty, death grew her choice: Unleſs perhaps ſhe were bereaved of nouriſhment, and her deceaſe feigned to have been of her own ſeeking. For, Tiberius raged againſt her with abominable imputations,

tations, reproaching her ‘ with lewdneſs, as the ‘ adultereſs of Aſinius Gallus, and that upon his ‘ death ſhe became weary of his life.’ But theſe were none of her crimes. Agrippina, impatient of an equal lot, and eager for rule, had thence ſacrificed to maſculine ambition all the paſſions and vices of women. The Emperor added, ‘ that ſhe ‘ departed the ſame day on which Sejanus had ſuf- ‘ fered as a traitor two years before, and that the ‘ ſame ought to be perpetuated by a public memo- ‘ rial.’ Nay, he boaſted of his clemency, in ‘ that ſhe had not been ſtrangled, and her body ‘ caſt into the charnel of malefactors.’ For this, as for an inſtance of mercy, the Senate ſolemnly thanked him, and decreed, ‘ that on the ſeven- ‘ teenth of October, the day of both their deaths, ‘ a yearly offering ſhould be conſecrated to Ju- ‘ piter for ever.’

Not long after, Cocceius Nerva, in full proſperity of fortune, in perfect vigour of body, formed a purpoſe of dying. As he was the inceſſant companion of the Prince, and accompliſhed in the knowledge of all Laws, divine and human, Tiberius having learned his deſign, was earneſt to diſſuade him, examined his motives, joined entreaties, and even declared, ‘ how grievous to his ‘ own ſpirit it would prove, how grievous to his ‘ reputation, if the neareſt of his friends ſhould ‘ relinquiſh life, without any cauſe for dying.’ Nerva rejected his reaſoning, and compleated his purpoſe by abſtinence. It was alledged by ſuch as knew his thoughts, that the more he ſaw into the dreadful ſource and increaſe of public miſeries, the more, tranſported with indignation and fear, he reſolved to make an honeſt end, in the bloom of his integrity, before his life and credit were aſſaulted. Moreover, the fall of Agrippina, by a reverſe hardly credible, procured that of Plan-

cina. She was formerly married to Cneius Piſo; and, though ſhe exulted publicly for the death of Germanicus, yet, when Piſo fell, ſhe was protected by the ſollicitations of Auguſta, nor leſs by the known animoſity of Agrippina. But, as favour and hate were now withdrawn, juſtice prevailed; and, being queſtioned for crimes long ſince ſufficiently manifeſt, ſhe executed, with her own hand, that vengeance which was rather too ſlow than too ſevere.

While the City yet bewailed ſo many tragical deaths, it was an acceſſion to the public affliction, that Julia, the daughter of Druſus, and lately the wife of Nero, was eſpouſed to Rubellius Blandus, whoſe grandfather was remembered by many to have been only a Roman Knight from Tibur. At the iſſue of the year, happened the death of Ælius Lamia, and was celebrated with a public funeral. For his laſt employment, he was Governor of Rome; having been at length diſcharged from the mock adminiſtration of Syria, which he was never ſuffered to viſit. In his deſcent he was noble, enjoyed a lively old age, and upon his character was derived freſh glory from the with-holding of his Province from him. As Pomponius Flaccus, Proprætor of Syria, died ſome time after, there arrived Letters from Tiberius. In them he complained, 'That all the Senators of diſtinguiſhed name, and qualified to command Armies, refuſed that office; hence he was reduced to the neceſſity of entreaties, to engage ſome of the Conſulars to undertake the rule of provinces.' He thought fit to forget Arruntius, Governor of Spain, already for ten years detained at Rome. The ſame year alſo died Marcus Lepidus, of whoſe wiſdom and moderation I have in the former Books inſerted abundant inſtances. Nor does it require more room here to diſplay his nobility, ſince his

race

race was that of the Æmilii, a race fertile in good citizens; and even those of the same family who lapsed into corruption, continued still to be distinguished by their illustrious dignities and fortune.

In the Consulship of Paulus Fabius and Lucius Vitellius, after a long vicissitude of ages, the Phœnix arrived in Ægypt, and furnished the most learned of the natives and Greeks, with matter of large and various observations concerning that miraculous bird. The circumstances in which they agree, with many others, that, however disputed, deserve to be known, claim a recital here. That it is a creature sacred to the Sun, and, in the fashion of its head, and diversity of feathers, distinct from other birds, all, who have described its figure, are agreed; about the length of its life, relations vary. It is by the vulgar tradition fixed at five hundred years: but there are those who extend it to one thousand four hundred and sixty one, and assert that the three former Phœnixes appeared in reigns greatly distant, the first under Sesostris, the next under Amasis; and that one was seen under Ptolemy the third King of Ægypt of the Macedonian race, and flew to the City of Heliopolis, accompanied by a vast host of other birds gazing upon the wonderful stranger. But these are, in truth, the obscure accounts of antiquity: between Ptolemy and Tiberius the interval was shorter, not two hundred and fifty years; hence some have believed that the present was a spurious Phœnix, and derived not its origin from the territories of Arabia, since it observed nothing of the instinct which ancient tradition attributes to the genuine; for that the latter, having compleated his course of years, just before his death builds a nest in his native land, and upon it sheds generative power, from whence arises a young one, whose first care, when he is grown, is to bury his father;

neither does he undertake it unadviſedly, but by collecting and fetching loads of myrrh, tries his ſtrength in great journies; and as ſoon as he finds himſelf equal to the burden, and fit for the long flight, he rears upon his back his father's body, carries it quite to the altar of the Sun, and then flies away. Theſe are uncertain tales, and their uncertainty heightened by fables; but that this bird has been ſometimes ſeen in Ægypt, is not queſtioned.

At Rome, as the courſe of ſlaughter continued unrelenting, Pomponius Labeo, whom I have remembered to have been Governor of Mœſia, choſe, by opening his veins, to let out his own blood; as, by his example, did his wife Paxea hers. Such efficacy had the terror of falling by the executioner, that, to eſcape him, deaths of this ſort were readily undergone. Beſides, that they who ſtaid to be ſentenced, forfeited their eſtates with their lives, and were debarred the rites of burial; of ſuch, on the contrary, as anticipated condemnation, the bodies were interred, and their wills remained in force. The motive this, and price of diſpatch! Tiberius, however, in a Letter to the Senate, argued, 'That it was the uſage of our anceſtors, 'when they would renounce friendſhip, to forbid 'the perſon obnoxious their houſe, and by it ſhut 'up all intercourſe; a uſage repeated by himſelf 'towards Labeo. Whereas Labeo, who was 'charged with male-adminiſtration, and other 'crimes, had now, by leaving upon the Prince 'the odium of his death, ſought a veil to his own 'guilt, and thence falſly terrified his wife, to 'whom, however criminal, no puniſhment was 'meant.' Mamercus Scaurus was thereafter queſtioned afreſh, a man of ſignal quality, a noble orator, but profligate liver. In his overthrow, the friendſhip of Sejanus had no ſhare, but an engine

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no leſs potent to deſtroy, the enmity of Macro, who purſued, but with more ſubtlety, the ſame depraved politics. He was furniſhed with a handle from a Tragedy compoſed by Scaurus, in which were ſome lines capable of being pointed againſt Tiberius. But by the accuſers, Servilius and Cornelius, the crimes objected were thoſe of 'adultery with Livia, and the myſteries of magic.' Scaurus, as became the magnanimity of the ancient Æmilii, prevented condemnation by the perſuaſion of Sextia his wife, who animated him to die, and died with him.

And yet the accuſers, when opportunity occurred, were ſurrendered to vengeance, as were this ſame Servilius and Cornelius, men become famous by the doom of Scaurus; but for accepting from Varius Ligur a bribe to drop proſecution, they were interdicted fire and water, and exiled into different iſlands. Abudius Rufo too, once Ædile, whilſt he brought a charge againſt Lentulus Getulicus, under whom he had led a Legion, 'That he had eſpouſed his daughter to a ſon of 'Sejanus,' was himſelf condemned and baniſhed Rome. Getulicus was at this time Commander of the Legions in upper Germany, and by them wonderfully beloved, for his unbounded clemency, and diſcipline void of rigour. Neither was he unacceptable to the neighbouring army, through his intereſt in Lucius Apronius his father-in-law. Hence he was univerſally believed to have, by a Letter, repreſented to the Emperor, 'That by 'no choice of his own had he joined affinity with 'Sejanus, but in compliance with the counſel of 'Tiberius, and was as liable as Tiberius to be 'deceived; nor ought one and the ſame error to 'paſs unblamed in the Prince only, and upon all 'others draw down deadly vengeance. For his 'own faith; it was pure and inviolate, and, if

'againſt him no plots were framed, would conti-
'nue unſhaken. A ſucceſſor he would receive as
'no other than the herald of death. It remained
'therefore, that between them two they ſhould,
'as it were, eſtabliſh a league, by which the
'Prince ſhould ſtill enjoy all the reſt of the Em-
'pire, and he himſelf always retain his province.'
This proceeding, however amazing, derived credit from hence, that he only of all that were allied to Sejanus, remained in ſafety, and even in high favour. Tiberius, indeed, conſidered himſelf under the preſſure of public hatred, under the weight of extreme age; and that more by reputation than force his authority was upheld.

In the Conſulſhip of Caius Seſtius and Marcus Servilius, there came to Rome ſome noble Parthians, unknown to Artabanus their King. He had formerly, through dread of Germanicus, reigned with humanity towards his own people, and kept his faith with the Romans; but, afterwards treated us with arrogance, and his ſubjects with cruelty. His confidence grew from the ſucceſsful wars which he had waged againſt the circumjacent nations, from his contempt of Tiberius, as enfeebled through age and unwarlike, and from a greedy paſſion to poſſeſs Armenia, over which Kingdom, upon the death of Artaxias, he eſtabliſhed Arſaces his eldeſt ſon. This uſurpation was followed by an inſult, having ſent to reclaim 'the treaſure left by Vonones in Syria and 'Cilicia,' as alſo 'the re-eſtabliſhment of the 'ancient boundaries between the Perſians and 'Macedonians.' He even threatened, in the fulneſs of vain-glory, 'That he would invade all 'the countries poſſeſſed by Cyrus, and ſince by 'Alexander.' Of this ſecret embaſſy from the Parthians, the moſt powerful promoter was Sinnaces, of a noble family, and correſpondent wealth,

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and, next to him in authority, Abdus the Eunuch, a character no wise despised amongst the Barbarians, but even entrusted with power. These two, in concert with other Grandees, whom they had engaged in the combination, sent to Rome for Phrahates, son of King Phrahates; because, of all the race of the Arsacides, many being murdered by Artabanus, and the rest too young, none else remained to whom they could commit the State. The deputies represented, 'That there 'needed no more than a name and a leader, no 'more than a descendent of Arsaces espoused by 'Cæsar, and beheld upon the banks of the Eu-'phrates.'

It was what Tiberius wished. He invested Phrahates in the pomp of Royalty, and dispatched him with military state to recover his father's Monarchy; retaining however his old maxims, still to transact foreign affairs by artifice and counsels only, and warily avoid engaging in war. Artabanus the while having learnt the combination, was perplexed between different passions; now fear alarmed and retarded him, then thirst of revenge fired and excited him. By the Barbarians too, dissimulation and delay are reckoned servile measures; but instantly to satiate present passion, was the spirit and part of Royalty. Interest, however, prevailed: thus he invited Abdus to a banquet, and secured him by a lingering poison; Sinnaces he managed by presents and dissimulation, and engaged him in the entanglements of business. Now Phrahates arriving in Syria, and there disusing the Roman dress and œconomy, to which for so many years he had been inured, to resume the customs of the Parthians, proved unequal to the precipitate change, which brought a malady upon him that carried him off. But Tiberius forsook not the enterprize; to Artabanus he substituted

Tiridates, a freſh competitor, one of the ſame blood. For the recovery of Armenia, he choſe Mithridates, and reconciled him to his brother Pharaſmanes, who inherited the ſovereignty of Iberia; and over the Eaſt, for executing all his ſchemes there, he placed Lucius Vitellius. I am not unaware, that in Rome this man bore an evil eſtimation, and that many inſtances of depravity are related of him; yet in governing of Provinces he acted with primitive uprightneſs and virtue. It was after his return from thence, that his dread of Caligula, and then his intimacy with Claudius, transformed him into ſuch an odious ſlave, that he is reckoned to poſterity as a pattern of the vile abaſement and ſhocking deformities of flattery: his laſt character has ſwallowed up his firſt, and the excellencies of his younger years are obliterated by an old age black with flagitious crimes.

Of the petty Kings, Mithridates was the firſt in motion, and incited Pharaſmanes to promote, both by arms and ſnares, his efforts againſt Arſaces; ſo that inſtruments of ſubornation were found, who, with ſtore of gold, urged his ſervants to murder him. At the ſame time, the Iberians broke into Armenia with numerous forces, and gained the chief City Artaxata. Upon the firſt tidings of theſe diſaſters, Artabanus diſpatched, as the champion of his vengeance, his ſon Orodes, at the head of the Parthian army, and ſent abroad to hire auxiliaries. Pharaſmanes, on the other hand, joined the Albanian forces to his own, with additional aids from the Sarmatæans, whoſe Princes engaged themſelves on both ſides, according to the manner of the nation, to embark for pay in oppoſite quarrels. But the Iberians were maſters of the paſſes, and thence poured the Sarmatæans over the Caſpian Mountains into Armenia: whereas thoſe that advanced to join the Parthians,

thians, were with eaſe debarred entrance, the enemy having ſhut up every approach, except one between the ſea and the uttermoſt mountains of Albania; and that one was ſtopped by the tide, which, by the force of the Eteſian winds, is during the ſummer driven over the fords; but in the winter the ſouth wind rolls back the flood, and exhibits a naked ſtrand.

While Orodes was thus bereft of his Allies, Pharaſmanes, ſtrengthened with ſuccours, provoked him to battle, and, as he declined it, inſulted him, rode up to his entrenchments, haraſſed his forragers, and often begirt, as it were with a ſiege, the quarters of his camp. This enraged the Parthians, who, ſcorning the unwonted reproach, ſurrounded the Prince in crowds, and demanded the combat. Their only forces were in horſe; but Pharaſmanes was likewiſe powerful in foot: for, the Iberians and Albanians, as they inhabit the rough foreſts, are thence more inured to hardneſs and patience. They ſay, 'that they are 'ſprung from Theſſaly, by the means of Jaſon, 'who, having carried away Medea, and had 'children by her, returned again to Colchos, up-'on the death of Æeta, and filled the vacant 'throne.' And many are the traditions which they retain concerning him and the Oracle of Phryxus, in reverence to which none of them will ſacrifice a ram, as upon this animal they believe Phryxus to have been carried thither; whether the ſame were a ram, or only the ſign of a ſhip. Now both armies being embattled, Orodes animated his men with 'the grandeur of the Par-'thian Empire, the Empire of the Eaſt, the laſt-'ing glory of the Arſacides; and, on the other 'ſide, the ignoble name of the Iberians and their 'hireling ſoldiery.' Pharaſmanes repreſented to his,

his, that 'they had ever defended themſelves from 'the uſurpation of the Parthians, and now ſought 'more than defence, even a Kingdom; hence 'the higher their aims, the more renown to the 'victors; but if they fled, the greater reproach, 'and the ſame peril.' He bade them to view and compare their own horrid and threatening arms with the bands of Medes blazing with gold, and behold here the bravery of men, there that of plunder.

With the Sarmatæans, however, the ſpeech of their General is not the only exhortation; it is their way to animate one another. It was now their united cry, 'That they muſt not begin their 'fight by a diſcharge of arrows, but break in at 'once upon the foe, and ſurprize them by a cloſe 'engagement.' They did ſo; and hence began a ſcene of battle ſtrangely diverſified: the Parthians, accuſtomed with equal dexterity to purſue or fly, ſcattered their troops, thence ſeeking ſcope for their arrows: the Sarmatæans intirely renounced the bow, a weapon which they weild with leſs vigour and perſeverance, and ruſhed in with their ſwords and pikes. Sometimes, as in an encounter of horſe, were beheld the viciſſitudes of charging and flying; again, as in condenſed battles of foot, with the ſhocks of their bodies breaſt to breaſt, and with the efforts of their arms, they overthrew and were overthrown. Now the Albanians and Iberians grappled the enemy, dragged them from their horſes, and confounded the attacks of the Parthians; who, beſides the aſſaults from the horſe, were ſtill more cloſely galled by the foot. Whilſt, during this conflict, the two Generals ſcoured from place to place, to countenance the brave, or to ſupport the wavering, themſelves conſpicuous to all, and therefore known to each other,

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they encountered fiercely, horſe to horſe, with terrible cries and lances darted, but Pharaſmanes with moſt violence, for he wounded Orodes thro' the helmet, but, hurried away by the velocity of his horſe, could not repeat his blow, and the wounded Prince was reſcued by the moſt reſolute of his guards. Fame, however, falſly reported him for ſlain, and terrifying the Parthians, they yielded the victory.

Again Artabanus prepared for revenge, and, to make it ſure, marched with the whole ſtrength of Parthia; but was again beaten by the Iberians, through their ſuperior knowledge of the country. Nor even thus would he have retreated, but that Vitellius, by drawing together his Legions, and thence exciting a rumour, as if he were juſt upon invading Meſopotamia, alarmed him with the terror of war from the Romans. Armenia was therefore abandoned, and the affairs of Artabanus finally ruined; for Vitellius the while, prompted the Parthians 'to renounce a King cruel to his ſubjects 'in peace, and deſtructive to their ſtate by his fa-'tal wars.' Sinnaces therefore, whom I have mentioned as already incenſed, conſults his father Abdageſes and others, who had hitherto diſguiſed their diſaffection, and finding them now emboldened by ſo many continued overthrows, draws them to an open revolt. To them flowed in, by little and little, all thoſe who had been rather retained in obedience through fear, than ſecured by affection; and, having thus found leaders, aſſumed courage to follow them. So that to Artabanus none now adhered, except ſome few foreigners, the guards of his perſon, out-laws and fugitives from their ſeveral homes, deſtitute of all ſentiments of honour, and of every worthy affection, equally untouched with public or private diſgrace, hirelings by profeſſion, and the retained inſtruments of villainy and blood.

blood. Taking theſe for his attendants, he haſtily fled to regions far remote, and bordering upon Scythia, from thence hoping for ſuccours; for with the Hyrcanians and Carmanians he was joined in alliance. He expected too that the Parthians, a people always favourable to their Princes after expulſion, ever fickle and uneaſy under thoſe in poſſeſſion, might lapſe into remorſe.

Artabanus being fled, and the minds of the Parthians inclined to a new King, Vitellius exhorted Tiridates 'to lay hold on a Kingdom prepared to 'receive him;' and, with the bulk of the Legions and auxiliaries, marched to the banks of Euphrates. Whilſt they ſacrificed to the river, the one after the rites of the Romans, a ſwine, a ram, and a bull; the other a horſe; the inhabitants informed them, 'That the Euphrates, without any acceſ-'ſion of rain, ſwelled miraculouſly, and that the 'white froth upon the ſurface wound itſelf into 'circles in the faſhion of a diadem, as a propitious 'type of ſucceſs after paſſing.' Some explained it with more ſubtlety, 'That the firſt attempts would 'be attended with immediate proſperity, but ſuch 'as was fleeting and tranſient; for that only upon 'events portended by ſigns from the earth and the 'heavens, was there any ſure reliance: rivers 'were, in their nature, fleeting and unſtable; and 'what omens they ſuddenly ſhewed, they, with 'the ſame rapidity, ſnatched away.' Over a bridge of boats the army croſſed; and the firſt who arrived in the camp was Ornoſpades with many thouſand horſe. He was formerly an exile, and had then, with no contemptible forces, aided Tiberius to finiſh the war in Dalmatia; a merit which procured him the right of a Roman Citizen: being afterwards recalled, he recovered the friendſhip of the King, and continued high in his favour; ſo that he was placed over all thoſe territories which

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being waſhed on every ſide with the celebrated rivers of Euphrates and Tigris, are thence named Meſopotamia. Soon after came Sinnaces with more forces, as alſo Abdageſes, the pillar of the party, with the King's treaſure, and all the decorations of Royalty. Vitellius thought it enough to have countenanced them with a diſplay of the Roman arms, and now admoniſhed Tiridates and the chiefs, him 'to remember, that he had for 'his grand-father Phrahates, and was himſelf 'reared by Cæſar; ſignal honours, and equal in-'citements to glory:' upon them he preſſed 'obe-'dience to their King, and reverence towards us; 'that they would all conſult their own reputations, 'and preſerve their plighted faith.' Thence he repaſſed with his Legions into Syria.

Theſe tranſactions, though the work of two campaigns, I have laid together, to relieve my ſoul from the ſad recital of domeſtic evils. For, Tiberius, though now three years ſince the execution of Sejanus, was ſo far from being aſſwaged by time, ſupplications, and ſatiety of blood, means which are wont to ſoften all other men, that with rage and puniſhment he ſtill purſued even ſtale and dubious imputations, as the moſt heinous and recent crimes. Under this dread Fulcinius Trio, unable to bear the prevailing perſecution of his accuſers, compoſed his laſt will, and in it compiled a long charge of iniquities and dreadful invectives againſt Macro and the Emperor's principal freedmen: the Emperor himſelf he upbraided with 'a ſpirit ſunk through age, and his conti-'nued abſence, as a ſtate of exile.' Theſe invectives, which the heirs of Trio had ſmothered, were, by Tiberius, ordered to be recited; whether in oſtentation that he could bear ſuch liberties, and deſpiſed a public rehearſal of his own infamy;

famy; or whether from having been long ignorant of the black enormities of Sejanus, he came afterwards to prefer the divulging of whatever was ſaid, however ſaid, concerning himſelf and his adminiſtration; and ſince truth is ever diſguiſed by flattery, he meant at leaſt to learn it from the mouth of reproach. During the ſame Conſuls, Granius Martianus the Senator, charged with treaſon by Caius Gracchus, laid violent hands upon himſelf; and Tatius Gratianus, who had been Prætor, under the ſame charge, was ſentenced to capital baniſhment.

The like ends had Trebellienus Rufus and Sextius Paconianus. For, Trebellienus fell by his own hand; and Paconianus for Verſes made in priſon againſt the Emperor was there ſtrangled. With theſe executions Tiberius was acquainted, not now ſeparated from Italy by the ſea, nor by meſſengers diſpatched from afar, but in the neighbourhood of Rome; ſo near to it that he received and anſwered the Letters from the Conſuls the ſame day, or only after the interval of a night; as if he were from thence beholding the houſes floating in blood, or the buſy hands of the executioners opening its ſources. In the end of the year expired Poppæus Sabinus, of ordinary deſcent, but by the friendſhip of the Emperors he had acquired the Conſulſhip and triumphal honours. He was alſo entruſted for four and twenty years with the Government of great provinces, for no ſignal ability of his, but that he had talents equal to buſineſs, and not above it.

The following Conſuls were Quintus Plautius and Sextus Papinius. It was marked as no matter of horror or ſurprize, that Lucius Aruſeius and * * * underwent this year the pains of death; ſo familiar were civil miſeries grown. But terrifying proved

proved the tragedy of Vibulenus Agrippa, a Roman Knight, who, after his accuſers had finiſhed their pleadings, pulling out poiſon, which under his gown he had concealed, ſwallowed it in open Senate, and as he fell expiring, was by the Lictors haſtily dragged to the dungeon, where, though already dead, his neck was faſtened and ſtrained in a rope. Not even Tigranes, who had ſome time reigned in Armenia, but was now accuſed, could by the name of a King, eſcape ſuffering, in common with citizens, the puniſhment of death. But Caius Galba a Conſular, and the two Blæſi, fell by their own hands, Galba, upon receiving a diſmal Letter from Cæſar, which forbid him to meddle with drawing his lot for a Province; the Blæſi, becauſe the Prieſthoods which in the proſperity of their family he had aſſigned them, and again in its calamity withheld, he now beſtowed, as vacant dignities, upon others. This they underſtood as a ſignal of death, and obeyed it. Æmilia Lepida too, who, as I have related, was married to the young Druſus, ſhe who had purſued her huſband's life, by urging againſt him inceſſant crimes, and during the days of her father Lepidus, remained unpuniſhed, though deteſtable, was after his death attacked by the accuſers, for adultery with a ſlave: nor of this her infamous defilement was any doubt made; renouncing therefore all defence, ſhe put an end to her own life.

About the ſame time the Cliteans, a people ſubject to Archelaus the Cappadocian, aggrieved to be after the Roman manner brought under a rate, and compelled to pay tribute, betook themſelves to the ridges of Mount Taurus, and by the nature of the ſituation defended themſeves againſt the unwarlike forces of the King; till Vitellius, Preſident of Syria, diſpatched to their relief his Lieutenant Marcus Trebellius, with four thouſand Legionary ſoldiers

ſoldiers and ſome choſen auxiliaries. Trebellius begirt with entrenchments the two hills upon which the Barbarians were encamped, the leſſer named *Cadra*, the other *Davara*, and forced them all to ſurrender: ſome who attempted to ſally, he ſubdued by the ſword; the reſt he overcame by thirſt. Tiridates, with the approbation of the Parthians, took poſſeſſion of Nicephorium, Anthemuſias, and other cities founded by the Macedonians, and thence called by Greek names, as likewiſe of Halus and Artemita, Parthian cities; the inhabitants of each contending in joy for the change, as they all deteſted Artabanus, bred amongſt the barbarous Scythians, and himſelf barbarouſly cruel, but from Tiridates hoped a humane ſpirit, civilized by a Roman education.

Particularly exceſſive was the flattery practiſed on this occaſion by the citizens of Seleucia; a powerful city ſurrounded with walls, and not corrupted into the barbarous uſages of the Parthians, but ſtill retaining the inſtitutions of Seleucus, its Greek founder. Three hundred citizens, choſen for wealth or wiſdom, compoſe, as it were, a Senate; to the populace too remains their ſhare of power; and when all act with unanimity, they deſpiſe the Parthians; but when diſcord reigns, while each ſide calls in foreign aid againſt their competitors, he who is invited prevails againſt the whole: A conſequence which had befallen them in the reign of Artabanus, who delivered the commonalty to the dominion of the Nobles, in pure ſubſervience to the maxims and intereſt of his own power. For the ſovereignty of the People is an eſtabliſhment of Liberty; but the domination of a few comes nearer to the unchecked luſt of ſimple Monarchy. Upon the coming of Tiridates, they heaped on him all the honours paid to the ancient Kings, with all ſuch as the preſent age has improved.

proved or invented, and to the praiſes of the new Prince added contumelies againſt Artabanus, 'that 'only by his father he was akin to the Arſacides, 'and in every other inſtance an apoſtate from their 'race.' Tiridates committed to the People the government of Seleucia. As he was next conſulting about ſettling a day for ſolemnizing his inauguration, he received letters from Phrahates and Hiero, who preſided over potent Provinces, entreating a ſhort reſpit; ſo that he agreed to wait the arrival of men ſo ſignally powerful, and proceeded the while to Cteſiphon, the ſeat of the Empire. But as from day to day they delayed coming, the Surena in a great preſence, and with their applauſes, put the Royal Diadem, according to the ceremony of the country, upon his head.

And had he ſtrait advanced into the center of the Kingdom and the further Provinces, he had overawed the ſuſpence of ſuch as halted, and found ſubmiſſion from all Parthia. But, by beſieging a fortreſs, whither Artabanus had conveyed his money and miſtreſſes, he furniſhed the fickle Parthians with leiſure to violate their late aſſociation. For, Phrahates and Hiero, with ſuch others as had not joined with the reſt in celebrating his coronation, returned to their old allegiance, part through fear, ſome from envy to Abdageſes, who then governed the new King and his whole court. They found Artabanus in Hyrcania, covered with naſtineſs and miſery, and with his bow labouring for food. At firſt he was terrified, and apprehended treachery. When they aſſured him of their faith, and that to reſtore him to ſovereignty they were come, he aſked, 'whence the ſudden change?' Hiero, in anſwer, reproached 'Tiridates as a boy, 'and that the Empire was no longer adminiſtered 'by one of the brave Arſacides; but a lad ſoftened 'by foreign effeminacy, poſſeſſed the empty title,

'whilſt

'whilſt in the family of Abdageſes the whole 'power remained.'

He diſcerned, politic as he was, and old in reigning, that, however falſe in their affections, their hate was unfeigned. Neither tarried he longer than to get together ſome Scythian ſuccours, and then marched with diſpatch, to fruſtrate the meaſures of his enemies, and to obviate the defection of his friends. Nor changed he yet his noiſome dreſs, as by it he meant to draw the commiſeration of the Populace. In his march he left untried no expedient, no prayers nor wiles, to engage in his intereſt ſuch as wavered, to confirm ſuch as adhered, and he was already in the neighbourhood of Seleucia, before Tiridates, diſmayed at once with the tidings of Artabanus, and with Artabanus in perſon, could determine, whether to make head againſt him, or protract the war. His counſels were diſtracted. They who preferred a battle and ſpeedy iſſue, argued, 'that the ene-'my's forces were ſtill in diſarray and ſpent with 'long journeys: nor in truth were they in their 'hearts ſincerely reconciled to obedience; they, 'who were lately the betrayers and open enemies 'of that ſame Prince whom thus, after expulſion, 'they eſpouſed.' But Abdageſes adviſed 'a re-'treat into Meſopotamia, that there, defended by 'the interpoſition of the river, they might have 'time to arm the Armenians and Elymæans, 'with other adjacent nations; and, being thus 'ſtrengthened by confederate troops, and ſuch as 'the Roman general ſhould ſend, might try with 'theſe advantages the fortune of war.' This advice prevailed, as Abdageſes held the higheſt authority, and Tiridates was fearful of dangers. But their departure had all the appearance and conſequences of a rout: for the Arabs beginning the deſertion, the reſt followed, and retired to their

ſeveral

ſeveral homes, or to the camp of Artabanus; ſo that Tiridates with a few croſſed over to Syria, where he diſcharged them all, as well from his ſervice, as from the infamy of being betrayed by them.

The ſame year the City ſuffered the grievous calamity of fire, which burnt down that part of the Circus contiguous to Mount Aventine, and the Mount itſelf; a loſs which turned to the glory of the Prince, as he paid in money the value of the houſes deſtroyed. A hundred thouſand great ſeſterces he expended in this bounty, which proved the more grateful to the people, as he was ever ſparing in private buildings. In truth, his public works never exceeded two, the Temple of Auguſtus and the Scene of Pompey's Theatre; nor, when he had finiſhed both, did he dedicate either, whether obſtructed by old age, or deſpiſing popularity. For aſcertaining the damage of particulars, the four ſons-in-law of Tiberius were appointed, Cneius Domitius, Caſſius Longinus, Marcus Vinicius, and Rubellius Blandus, aſſiſted by Publius Petronius, nominated by the Conſuls. To the Emperor likewiſe were decreed ſeveral honours, variouſly deviſed, according to the different drift and genius of ſuch as propoſed them. Which of theſe he meant to accept, or which to reject, the approaching iſſue of his days has buried in uncertainty. For not long after, Cneius Acerronius and Caius Pontius commenced Conſuls, the laſt Conſuls under Tiberius. The power of Macro was already exceſſive, who, as he had at no time neglected the favour of Caligula, courted it now more and more earneſtly every day. After the death of Claudia, whom I have mentioned to have been eſpouſed to the young Prince, he conſtrained Ennia his own wife to ſtimulate the affections of Caligula, and

to ſecure him by a promiſe of marriage. The truth is, Caligula was one that denied nothing that opened his way to ſovereignty; for although of a tempeſtuous genius, he had yet in the ſchool of his grand-father, well acquired all the hollow guiſes of diſſimulation.

His ſpirit was known to the Emperor; hence the Emperor was puzzled about bequeathing the Empire: and firſt as to his grand-ſons; the ſon of Druſus was nearer in blood, and dearer in point of affection, but as yet a child; the ſon of Germanicus had arrived at the vigour of youth, and the zeal of the people followed him; a motive to his grand-father, only to hate him. He had even debates with himſelf concerning Claudius, becauſe of ſolid age, and naturally inclined to honeſt purſuits; but the defect of his faculties withſtood the choice. In caſe he ſought a ſucceſſor apart from his own family, he dreaded leſt the memory of Auguſtus, leſt the name of the Cæſars ſhould come to be ſcorned and inſulted. For, it was not ſo much any ſtudy of his, to gratify the preſent generation, and ſecure the Roman State, as to perpetuate to poſterity the grandeur of his race. So that his mind ſtill wavering, and his ſtrength decaying, to the deciſion of fortune he permitted a counſel to which he was now unequal. Yet he dropped certain words whence might be gathered, that he foreſaw the events and revolutions which were to come to paſs after him; for, he upbraided Macro, by no dark riddle, 'that he forſook the ſetting 'ſun, and courted the riſing;' and of Caligula, who upon ſome occaſional diſcourſe ridiculed Sylla, he foretold, 'that he would have all Sylla's vices, 'and not one of his virtues.' Moreover, as he was, with many tears, embracing the younger of his grandſons, and perceived the countenance of

Caligula

Caligula implacable and provoked; 'Thou, ſaid he, wilt ſlay him, and another ſhall ſlay thee.' But, however his illneſs prevailed, he relinquiſhed nothing of his vile voluptuouſneſs, forcing patience, and feigning health. He was wont too to ridicule the preſcriptions of Phyſicians, and all men who, after the age of thirty, needed to be informed by any one elſe, what helped or hurted their conſtitutions.

At Rome, the while, were ſown the ſanguinary ſeeds of executions, to be perpetrated even after Tiberius. Lælius Balbus had charged Acutia, (the wife formerly of Publius Vitellius) with high treaſon; and, as the Senate were, after her condemnation, decreeing a reward to the accuſer, the ſame was obſtructed by the interpoſition of Junius Otho, Tribune of the people: Hence their mutual hate, which ended in the exile of Otho. Thereafter Albucilla, who had been married to Satrius Secundus, him that revealed the conſpiracy of Sejanus, and herſelf famous for many amours, was impeached of impious rites deviſed againſt the Prince. In the charge were involved, as her aſſociates and adulterers, Cneius Domitius, Vibius Marſus, and Lucius Arruntius. The noble deſcent of Domitius I have above declared: Marſus too was diſtinguiſhed by the ancient dignities in his houſe, and himſelf illuſtrious for learning. The Minutes, however, tranſmitted to the Senate, imported, 'that in the examination of the witneſſes, 'and torture of the ſlaves, Macro had preſided;' neither came theſe Minutes accompanied with any letter from the Emperor againſt the accuſed. Hence it was ſuſpected, that, while he was ill, and perhaps without his privity, the accuſations were in great meaſure forged by Macro, in conſequence of his notorious enmity to Arruntius.

Domitius therefore, by preparing for his defence, and Marſus, by ſeeming determined to famiſh, both protracted their lives. Arruntius choſe to die; and to the importunity of his friends, urging him to try delays and evaſions, he anſwered, 'that the 'ſame meaſures were not alike honourable to all 'men; his own life was abundantly long; nor 'had he wherewithal to reproach himſelf, ſave 'that he had ſubmitted to bear thus far an old age 'loaded with anxieties, expoſed to daily dangers, 'and the cruel ſport of power; long hated as he 'was by Sejanus, now by Macro, always by ſome 'reigning Miniſter; hated through no fault of 'his own, but as one irreconcileable to baſeneſs 'and the iniquities of power. He might, in truth, 'out-live and avoid the few and laſt days of Ti-'berius; but how eſcape the youth of his heir? 'If upon Tiberius at ſuch an age, and after ſuch 'conſummate experience, the violent ſpirit of un-'bridled dominion had wrought with ſuch effica-'cy, as intirely to tranſport and change him; 'was it likely that Caligula, he who had ſcarce 'outgrown his childhood, a youth ignorant of all 'things, or nurſt and principled in the worſt, 'would follow a courſe more righteous under the 'guidance of Macro; the ſame Macro, who, for 'deſtroying Sejanus, was employed as the more 'wicked of the two, and had ſince by more miſ-'chiefs and cruelties torn and afflicted the Com-'monweal? For himſelf; he foreſaw a ſervitude 'yet more vehement, and therefore withdrew at 'once from the agonies of paſt and of impending 'tyranny.' Uttering theſe words, with the ſpirit of a prophet, he opened his veins. How wiſely Arruntius anticipated death, the following times will terribly demonſtrate. For Albucilla; ſhe aimed at her own life, but the blow being impo-

tent,

tent, she was by order of Senate dragged to execution in the prison. Against the ministers of her lusts it was decreed, 'that Grasidius Sacerdos, 'formerly Prætor, should be exiled into an island, 'Pontius Fregellanus be degraded from the Se-'nate; and that upon Lælius Balbus the same pe-'nalty should be inflicted: his punishment parti-'cularly proved matter of joy, as he was accounted 'a man of pestilent eloquence, and prompt to at-'tack the innocent.'

About the same time, Sextus Papinius, of a Consular family, chose on a sudden a frightful end, by a desperate and precipitate fall. The cause was ascribed to his mother, who, after many repulses, had, by various allurements and the stimulations of sensuality, urged him to practices and embarassments from whence only by dying he could devise an issue. She was therefore accused in the Senate; and, though in a prostrate posture she embraced the knees of the Fathers, and pleaded 'the ten-'derness and grief of a mother, with the imbecil-'lity of a woman's spirit under such an affecting 'calamity;' with other motives of pity in the same doleful strain, she was banished Rome for ten years, till her younger son were past the age of lubricity.

As to Tiberius; already his body, already his spirits failed him; but his dissimulation failed him not. He exerted the same vigour of mind, the same energy in his looks and discourse, and even sometimes studied to be gay, by it to hide his declension, however notorious. So that, after much shifting of places, he settled at the Promontory of Misenum, in a villa of which Lucullus was once lord. There it was discovered that his end was at hand, by this device. In his train was a Physician, his name Charicles, signal in his profession, one, in truth, not employed to direct the Prince's health,

but wont however to afford his counſel and ſkill. Charicles, as if he were departing to attend his own affairs, under the appearance of paying duty and kiſſing his hands, touched his pulſe. But the artifice beguiled not Tiberius, for he inſtantly ordered the entertainment to be ſerved up, whether incenſed, and thence the more ſmothering his wrath, is uncertain. But, at table he continued beyond his wont, as if he meant that honour only for a farewell to his friend. But for all this, Charicles ſatisfied Macro, 'that the flame of life was 'expiring, and could not outlaſt two days.' Hence the whole court was filled with cloſe conſultations, and expreſſes were diſpatched to the Generals and Armies. On the ſixteenth of March, ſo deep a ſwoon ſeized him, that he was believed to have paid the laſt debt of mortality; inſomuch that Caligula, in the midſt of a great throng, paying their congratulations, was already appearing abroad, to aſſume the firſt offices of Sovereignty, when ſudden notice came, 'that Tiberius had recovered his 'ſight and voice, and, to ſtrengthen his fainting 'ſpirits, had called for ſome refreſhment.' Hence dread ſeized all, and the whole concourſe about Caligula diſperſed, every man aſſuming falſe ſorrow, or feigning ignorance. He himſelf was ſtruck ſpeechleſs, and thus fallen from the higheſt hopes, waited for preſent death. Macro continued undiſmayed, and, ordering the apartment to be cleared, cauſed the feeble old man to be ſmothered with a weight of coverings. Thus expired Tiberius in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age.

He was the ſon of Nero, and on both ſides a branch of the Claudian houſe, though his mother had been ingrafted by adoptions into the Livian, and next into the Julian ſtock. From his firſt infancy, his life was checquered by various turns and perils. For, then he followed, like an exile, his proſcribed

proſcribed father; and when taken in quality of a ſtep-ſon into the family of Auguſtus, he long ſtruggled there with many potent rivals, during the lives of Marcellus and Agrippa, next of the young Cæſars, Caius and Lucius. His brother Druſus too eclipſed him, and poſſeſſed more eminently the hearts of the Roman people. But above all, his marriage with Julia moſt egregiouſly threatened and diſtreſſed him, whether he bore the proſtitutions of his wife, or relinquiſhed the daughter of Auguſtus. Upon his return thereafter from Rhodes, he occupied for twelve years the Prince's family, now bereft of heirs, and nigh three and twenty ruled the Roman State. His manners alſo varied with the ſeveral junctures of his fortune: he was well eſteemed while yet a private man, and, in diſcharging public dignities under Auguſtus, of ſignal reputation; covert and ſubdolous in feigning virtue ſo long as Germanicus and Druſus ſurvived; a mixed character of good and evil during the days of his mother; deteſtably cruel, but ſecret in his lewdneſs, while he loved or feared Sejanus. At laſt he abandoned himſelf, at once, to the rage of tyranny and the ſway of his luſts: for, he had then conquered all the checks of ſhame and fear, and thenceforth followed only the bent of his own abominable ſpirit.

End of the First Volume.

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